# Daily Report

# East Europe

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*FBIS-EEU-90-018* *26 January 1990*

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**NOTICE TO READERS:** • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.


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## Alia Addresses Central Committee Plenum 22 Jan

*AU2501221190 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Report on speech by Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, at Ninth Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee plenum on 22 January]

[Text] Today's meeting, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, is in a way a continuation of the eighth AWP Central Committee plenum. We then discussed a number of questions pertaining to the need to further revolutionize the life of the party and the country in order to better respond to the current stage of socialist construction. At today's meeting, we propose that those questions, as well as others that may be raised by the comrades, be changed into decisions.

Allow me to present certain ideas which could be taken as a base for the discussions. Only 4 months have elapsed since the eighth plenum, but the international political situation has changed a lot. Great changes have occurred in the countries of the East: in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, and Romania. It is noticeable that, while remaining members of the Warsaw Pact, these countries are extending their links with the West, particularly with regard to economic relations, but also in political matters. They are establishing links with Western socialist and social democratic parties, are aiming to join the European Union, and are strengthening their links with the European Common Market, the International Monetary Fund, and other Western institutions.

The Western countries are stimulating the political changes in East Europe. Under the call for free elections and political pluralism, the creation of various parties and groups, they seek to destroy everything that may remind one of socialism.

Bourgeois propaganda has labeled the socialist ideal as an anachronism. Reaction seeks to present communism as a threatening specter, threatening not for the bourgeoisie, but for the people. Events in the European East are not a surprise to us, in the general sense, Comrade Ramiz stated. What happened was precisely what our party and Comrade Enver had foreseen for decades, and which few believed, in the outside world.

For over 30 years, ever since Khrushchev's emergence in the Soviet Union, and the acceptance of Khrushchevism and, later on, Brezhnevism, by the countries of East Europe, we have been talking about the restoration of capitalism and considered the process of transformation into bourgeois societies to have been accomplished.

Nevertheless, there is something new in the current events. in Poland, the communist party is no longer in power. It is in opposition, while the power has been won by Solidarity. In the GDR, Honecker has left the scene and his place is being taken over by an organization called the Democratic Forum. In Czechoslovakia, Husak has left and Dubcek has returned, and so on. All these events have many consequences which require new ideological, political, and economic analyses and assessments.

The Soviet Union is not contesting the changes taking place in East Europe. On the contrary, it has inspired and encouraged them, regardless of the fact that in some cases, as in East Germany, they have gone out of control, or in other cases, as in Poland and Hungary, the hand of the Western bourgeoisie was perhaps more evident. However, the Soviet Union is not permitting these countries to get into military or political alliances with the West—that is, to exit the Soviet sphere of influence, let alone change into anti-Soviet bastions, into a sort of cordon sanitaire, as was the case before World War II. This was also the main purpose of the Bush-Gorbachev meeting in Malta, where this was agreed on.

In addition to a certain euphoria, these events have aroused some concern in the West. Some new political problems have emerged, such as the German problem and the question of the position of military alliances and economic unions. However, the problems pertaining to the need to overcome the crisis gripping the countries of the East are no less worrying. Nevertheless, all the parties involved agree that these processes must be stimulated, because they generally favor capitalism.

After speaking about the nature of the changes occurring in the countries of the East, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued:

What draws attention and what is characteristic in these processes is that they enjoy the broad and even enthusiastic support of the masses. It is natural to ask: How did this happen? How was it possible for the workers class and for the masses to become protagonists and supporters of the restoration of capitalism? The sorry part of it is that the people in those countries considered the revisionist regime, its bureaucracy, its violence, the economic stagnation, the ecological disasters, and so forth, to be a product of the socialist system, of Marxism-Leninism, which they are now rejecting.

It was reality itself which led the masses in the countries of the East into conflict with the state authority and with the political subjects. The legitimacy of the socialist state was compromised and soiled by the hypocrisy of the cliques in power. Socialism, the communist parties, and the democratic values created in the East after World War II were not further developed and enriched. Economic development and social emancipation were not accompanied by a perfecting of socialist democracy. The state not only failed to become the state of all the people, but also detached itself from the people, counterpoised itself to the people.

Our party, Comrade Ramiz continued, in its titanic struggle against revisionism, was right to concentrate its efforts to tear down the masks of socialism and expose the Marxist speculations of those parties. The Albanian communists understood quickly and struggled with all

their might and ability to ensure that people would understand the danger of compromising socialism and its revolutionary ideology and policy. However, the tragedy did take place. As communists and internationalists and as members of the international army of revolutionaries, we made our contribution to prevent this tragedy. However, this must not lead us into complacency, and we must not rejoice at the fact that we foresaw everything and that we did say what we said.

What we must do now is draw lessons from what has happened in the East. We must raise the question and seek the answer: Why did revisionism arise? What were its objective and subjective causes; its delays, mistakes, and concessions? [passage indistinct]

Comrade Enver has written a number of fundamental theses pertaining to the birth of revisionism. In our country, measures were adopted—on the basis of the conclusions drawn from these theses—to revolutionize the party and the entire life of the country. Now that many years have elapsed and things have settled down, and now that we have seen what weaknesses have been used by revisionism and what arms it has used to achieve its designs, we can see the problems much more clearly. We can now see what mechanisms would have served to strengthen socialism, but were neglected.

In the Soviet Union, they understood, although not quite consciously, that bureaucracy was growing too big and that it presented a great danger. However, in the Soviet Union, they failed to fight bureaucracy by taking the opposite course—that is, by increasing the role of the masses and by strengthening socialist democracy. Instead they strengthened and perfected the administration, through the establishment of legislative and disciplinary norms of party, state, and social activities, and through the growth of vertical centralism. It is not by chance that glasnost, or the speculation with democracy, has currently become the main weapon of revisionists. A vacuum was created, which Gorbachev and others have successfully exploited. More or less the same thing occurred with liberalism. The Soviets also fought liberalism mainly through administrative measures. Liberalism has the characteristic of speculating with topical matters, with known shortcomings and weaknesses. It presents itself as providing modern solutions for problems, as democratic; it operates with new terminologies, and so forth. However, in the Soviet Union, liberalism was opposed with dogma instead of being opposed by the confrontation of ideas and arguments. It was opposed by general principles instead of actual solutions to the problems. This made it possible for individuals and groups of individuals, especially from the ranks of the intelligentsia, to leave socialism and embrace all kinds of ideas dished up and propagated by the bourgeoisie. This is where the bourgeoisie found its dissidents, this is where the revisionist cliques found their social basis.

All this, and other similar matters, need to be discussed, so we may preempt the unexpected, regardless of the great differences of our development from that of the Soviet Union and other countries of the East. It is universally known that socialist Albania separated its destinies from that of the East bloc at the end of the sixties. We must add, however, that even before that Albania had its own road. In our country the revolution was a profound one. The Communist Party of Albania itself was formed in Albania and by Albanians. Its leaders learned the theory of socialism in the school of the National Liberation War and in the struggle for social emancipation. As long as the socialist camp existed, our party appreciated its experiences. However, in the process of socialist construction, our party bore in mind the country's special conditions, the traditions, the material and spiritual legacy, and the national psychology.

We say that the phenomena that took place in the East will not occur in Albania, not because the external pressure and activity against us is less. What is of fundamental importance, however, is that we enjoy a solid internal situation, that the authority that emerged from the war has remained the authority of the people, and that the AWP keeps the initiative in its own hands, and that its policies are in unison with the will of the masses. The calls that are being made abroad for changes in our country, for a departure from the road that we are following, do not find support in our country and are not in tune with the opinion and will of the broad strata of the working people.

This is a great political victory for our party and people. However, without underestimating its value, we must increase our vigilance at all times. We said at the eighth AWP Central Committee plenum that various kinds of pressure would be exerted on our country. Time has fully vindicated this prediction. The foreign enemies, especially the Yugoslavs and Greeks, were the first to give the signal. They started a campaign of slander and inventions against our country. Since it became independent 45 years ago, Albania has been the target of attacks and slander, Comrade Ramiz said. They were started by various Western circles, which suffered a heavy blow when the people's revolution triumphed in our country and the treacherous and collaborationist organizations of Balli Kombetar [noncommunist resistance movement] and Legaliteti [supporter of King Zog], which included the major representatives of the exploitative classes, and in which the Anglo-Americans had set their hopes, were defeated. The campaign was continued by the Yugoslavs who, together with Western reaction, did their utmost, not only through slander and propaganda, but also by dispatching armed bands, to overthrow the people's authority. Later on, in 1960, a new and savage attack was launched, this time from the Soviet Union. Khrushchev accused us of having sold out to imperialism for 30 piastres. All this continues to date. All the time, in the past and at present, the aim of the organizers of these anti-Albanian slanders and attacks has been to subdue Albania, to make it lose its independence, and to force it to change its positions in international relations to become a blind tool of others and march in their steps.

[passage indistinct] Our people have chosen the road of their development themselves and do not have to account to anyone for this. Our people themselves, and no one else, know what needs to be done, when it is to be done, and how it is to be done to ensure that the process of socialist construction progresses all the time. In Albania, the Albanian people are the masters. They and they alone are sovereign over their own destinies.

In this situation, said Comrade Ramiz, we must increase our vigilance everywhere. We must also intensify our political and propaganda work within the country and abroad. The comrades of the party committees, the propaganda sections, the press, and radio and television must think seriously about this, because this task cannot be carried out with slogans and outdated arguments, or with a formal and bureaucratic style.

Another important aspect of our work is to fulfill tasks in the economic field. This does not require words and pledges, but a lot of work from everyone. Plans related to the supply of food and clothing to the population must be fulfilled at all costs. Nothing stands in the way of having abundant supplies of vegetables, milk, and meat. There is no justification for any shortages observed. We must implement the decisions that we have adopted persistently. In fact, we should find ways and means of advancing them.

After speaking extensively about problems of the country's foreign policy and our state's stand toward some specific issues pertaining to current international relations, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed:

We pursue a policy of peace and friendly cooperation with others. This has been and will continue to be our line also in the future. We have never wanted to and do not lean toward isolation. Isolation, withdrawing within our own shell, living as in a besieged fortress has not been and does not constitute our political line. That is what the enemies of Albania would like. Our stand to the outside world must therefore be an active one, in our relations and political cooperation, as well as in our cultural and economic relations. We are interested in peace and good-neighborliness in the Balkans, but we are also interested in the problems of Europe and in our relations with all those who may be willing to return the friendship that we offer them.

Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to speak about the question of the revolutionization of the life of the party and of the country, which has always been at the center of our attention. The revolutionization of the party, he stressed, is essential to combat alien influences and manifestations, to preserve the purity of the party and of the people's authority. We discussed these matters at the eighth AWP Central Committee plenum. We are returning to these matters at this plenum for two reasons: First, to ensure their complete and successful application in order not to leave a free field to imperialism. [passage indistinct] Various proposals and suggestions have been made concerning additional measures to make it possible to further increase the role of the masses and the broad and active participation of all the strata of the people in the country's socialist construction.

The strengthening of the party, Comrade Ramiz said, must be our constant duty. The party is the leading force with which the present and the future of socialism is linked, but also the present and future of the country's freedom and independence.

In the countries of the European East socialism was rejected under the slogan of liberation from the monopoly of communist parties, and pluralism, the creation of many parties and organizations, was supposed to be the salvation. The numerous parties in the East are based on the profound social and class differences that existed before, which were revived and deepened during the years when the revisionists were in power. Society, in those countries, disintegrated and became polarized. [passage indistinct]

Political parties did not exist During Zog's regime. Political parties and organizations were formed for the first time during the fascist occupation. The first party to be formed was the Communist Party of Albania, now known as the AWP. Since its inception, the party launched itself uncompromisingly for a free, democratic, and popular Albania. Immediately after the founding of the party and as a reaction to that, Balli Kombetar emerged, to be followed soon by Legaliteti. Both these organizations, which represented the rich classes and the partisans of the restoration of the monarchy, were unable to transform themselves into influential political parties. This was because they emerged, from their very first steps, as collaborationist parties which placed themselves openly in the service of the Italian and German fascist occupiers. In other words, they emerged as antinational organizations. As such, they were not followed by the people. On the contrary, the Albanian people, the youth, the women, and all the working people, rural and urban, united around the Communist Party in antifascist organizations like the National Liberation Front, the youth organization, the women's organization, and so forth. On this road, passing the test of fire in the National Liberation War, our party gained the confidence and affection of the masses. This affection and confidence were forged later on in the great struggle for the construction of socialism and the defense of the country's freedom and independence.

Under the conditions of our country, the calls of the international bourgeoisie for a pluralism of parties mean a revival of Balli Kombetar and Legaliteti, or the creation of similar antisocialist and antinational political parties. This would not be a reflection of democracy, but a political means to weaken national unity and to create conditions to destroy socialism. The lack of numerous parties, according to the bourgeois yardstick, is supposedly also a lack of democracy. This is not true. There have been no parties in our country, but free discussion, the solving of the problems of the people in a democratic

way, at village meetings, assemblies, councils, and so forth, are an ancient tradition. Our party, which is nurtured by the wisdom of the people, has raised this tradition much higher. It has made the direct participation of the masses in drafting the plans for the country's economic and cultural development a method of its work. This is also done through various organizations and associations such as the Democratic Front, the Women's Union, the Youth Union, the trade unions, the veterans' organizations, the Union of Writers, the associations of scientists, and so forth.

Naturally, we are not complacent about the existing situation. The deepening of the line of the masses, which constitutes the essence of our socialist democracy, must be at the center of attention. In this context, the development of democracy within the party is a primary precondition.

Speaking further on these matters, Comrade Ramiz said: In continuing the discussions we carried out at the eighth plenum, the need to further revolutionize the party's work is vital. In order to tighten the party's links with the masses and revolutionize its internal life, I think the Central Committee should make compulsory the idea that Comrade Enver stressed several times, that meetings of party basic organizations should be open, except under very special circumstances. What does an open meeting mean? It means that the agenda and place is announced, and that not only some invited persons take part, but all working people of the relevant working place who wish to may take part. By making meetings open, the activity and the decisions of basic organizations will be better in line with and under the control of the working masses, while communists will be more aware of the responsibility they have to the people. However, at the same time, they will have the support of the masses when they are in the vanguard of the implementation of the party's decisions. They will find themselves faced with the pressure and criticism of the masses if they are not able and do not set an example in everything. Open meetings will be a school not only for communists, but for the working masses, who will be even more closely tied to the party.

Decisions for the election and appointment of specialists and cadres should be further improved. Real conditions must be created [passage indistinct]

Apart from those organs and cadres whose election is provided for in the Constitution, the party statutes, or social and economic organizations, this form of election must be extended even further. For example, it must be made clear that directors of enterprises and factories of various kinds, heads of clinics, college departments, institutes, and various kinds of cadres are only appointed when they have been discussed extensively by the workers and working people of the organization concerned, and approved by them. Without obtaining this approval, no cadre must be appointed, regardless of which body is entitled to the appointment. Thus the role of the masses increases, and cadres will find themselves responsible only to the masses, and not to the organ that confirms their appointment. If this principle is accepted, it also inevitably implies that the collectives also have the right to dismiss from their jobs all those managers and cadres who do not perform their duties well, or who make no progress, something which was also stressed at the eighth plenum. As for the cadres of certain institutes—particularly those of culture, science, education, and others, as well as some other fields where appointments are necessary—not only elections but competition must be introduced as a way to stamp out mediocrity and cronyism.

By acting in this way, the number of cadres that are appointed by the party or state managing bodies can be reduced. For example, for such main cadres as deputy ministers and others of similar rank, district first secretaries and chairmen of executive committees, commandants and commissars of divisions and chiefs of branches of the internal affairs services, for directors of ministry departments, and the like, the approval of the party or state central bodies may be sought. On the other hand, the approval of the district authorities should only be sought for the directors of enterprises and other main cadres at district level. Other cadres and specialists appointed by state, social, and economic organs or the economies of work collectives should be chosen by the institution where they work. The idea is thus to have as few cadres as possible appointed directly from above. For all cadres who apply for election or in a competition, the approval of the relevant body will only be given after the results of the election of competition are announced. The party through its basic organizations has the task of working and taking care that its rules are correctly enforced in this context.

There is also room for discussion of the question of the democratization of the electoral procedure in the party. In general, our rule should be that managing cadres are elected by party forums, state organs, and mass organizations from within; that the deputy director or chief engineer assumes the place of managing director, and so on; and that managing directors should not circulate from one enterprise to another, or replace another director who stands as candidate for a party position. [Passage indistinct] which relies on the principle of having two or three candidates for one position. Should this procedure not be extended in some cases to the level of deputy to the People's Assembly, not only during the debate for the nomination of candidates, but also in the voting? Of course, there will be a spread in the votes. But what is wrong with that, when all the candidates are put forward by the Democratic Front?

Let us bear in mind what was said at the eighth plenum about unity and unanimity—that the two concepts must not be confused. Unity is not harmed by an exchange of views or by the fact that voting is not unanimous for one candidate. It seems to me that we must abandon this complex.

The struggle against bureaucracy, as a condition for the strengthening of our socialist democracy, should be raised to a higher level.

This struggle can be successfully carried out only by raising the role of the masses, which is the party's constant line. It is also the only medicine against bureaucracy and other antisocialist symptoms. The times, and today's situation, cannot tolerate bureaucratic attitudes. They must be stopped; the sooner the better. Let us do this, if the need arises, even [word indistinct], because every stage of the revolutionization of the life of the party and country demands its own style and method. The party and Comrade Enver often stressed that the masses must feel themselves to be a creative factor of decisive importance at all times and under all circumstances of social activity. This is achieved if they join in the drafting and execution of plans, but finds full expression when the principle that the workers class takes the leading role in society is applied. An important factor to this end is the tightening of workers control, another revolutionary measure that hampers bureaucracy. It is the task of the party, and particularly of the trade unions, that this irreplaceable weapon in the struggle against bureaucracy, cronyism, embezzlement, arrogance, and various forms of injustice should acquire the necessary strength. This can only be achieved if workers control is given omnipotent powers over everything everywhere, as was conceived when it was first introduced.

Power is in the hands of those who have the right to make decisions. There is no power without authority. If the workers class is only given the right to suggest and propose, it will be toppled from power. A range of prerogatives must therefore be shifted from the apparatus and the cadres' office to the collectives, the mass organizations, and collegial councils. There is no need to repeat what was said at the eighth plenum, but I think that the struggle against bureaucracy must be unrelenting. Therefore, it is necessary for party and especially government bodies to review certain issues, giving more authority to the base, restricting centralized management where it is excessive, abandoning a tendency to concentrate as many matters (?in centralized hands), reducing office workers and staff, reducing the administrative apparatus, and so forth. A clear definition of the tasks of the apparatus is of particular importance, so that the role and function of elected bodies, as well as the balance between the election of communists and nonparty people, are not violated.

The revolutionization of the country's life and the refining of our socialist democracy must be extended into the field of legislation if it is to be fully enforced and carried through.

In this field, Comrade Ramiz said, the relevant bodies must study everything in our practice hitherto, and in this spirit must further improve our socialist legislation in accordance with our present level of development. Some time ago, the Politburo recommended that the ministries should examine certain legal matters. [passage indistinct]

Our general line, and the party's political and economic policy, Comrade Ramiz said later, have aimed at the construction of a socialist society without the exploitation of man by man, an order that guarantees the homeland's independence, and which continually guarantees people's living standards, with results which are familiar. However, the developments ahead of us have confronted us with the imperative need to invigorate further the motive power of our social system, above all by deepening the line of the masses and refining the mechanism of the economy. The party's constant line has been that the broad masses in production and elsewhere should always be the main agents of management, and that their initiative and contribution should always be the decisive factor for the devising and enforcement of the correct policies which we follow in different fields. As masters of the country and of the destiny of socialism, the people simultaneously direct and act on directives. In whatever field, whether large or small, these two aspects of their exercise of power make up a unity. This is always a characteristic of socialist society. [passage indistinct]

Where it is appropriate and beneficial, we can further subdivide the enterprises and cooperatives and the organization of the sectors. I take the view that, where they are effective, other methods of organization can be introduced, such as work with [word indistinct], by contract, piece work, and so forth. Could this not lead to increased production and more services? Every opportunity is available to increase the sphere of operation of chambers of commerce and the use of material levers, by abandoning administrative management methods, but also by improving the scientific character of orders and directives from above, when it is necessary for these to be used. The creation of economic opportunities, so that our enterprises will enjoy in reality those advantages provided by the economic laws of socialism, is intended to be a decisive step in this sphere.

In current practice, economic accountability in enterprises mainly means covering production expenditure and the wages of (?employees), whereas for the needs of expanded reproduction [passage indistinct] so that there is a balance between incomes and internal expenditure. Under these conditions the issue of state subsidies must be closely reexamined, because these make up a broad field [words indistinct]. I take the view that subsidies must only be used in necessary cases and that they should be decided in a responsible way and not be imposed by unfavorable results due to ineffective expenditure by the enterprises.

The application of the concept of financing the economy which research recommends calls for certain improvements of the rules in the field of the wages of working people and prices. In the field of labor remuneration, the main point is that the wages of working people in the

state sector of the economy should be decided not only on the basis of the fulfillment of norms in the specific workplace, as is the case today, but also on the basis of the final results of the factory or enterprise. Wages can also be a powerful stimulus, and can be put on a more fruitful basis. For example, the present [word distinct] tariff can be left unchanged, but the form of remuneration for plan overfulfillment, by stimulating with multiples [shumefishe] those sectors in which we have greatest interest, such as oil, chrome, exports, and others. Thus, in general, we propose a review of the balances between basic pay and bonuses, in favor of the latter. In order to encourage agricultural production in all areas, researchers have proposed a review of procurement prices, with a tendency to raise them and to impose greater price differentials according to zone, but also increasing [words instinct] in different cooperatives, especially higher-type cooperatives, in which the state has made great investments. These changes in prices and in trade will increase profitability and [words indistinct] which will not concern class-based social policy. This will create the opportunity to create economic relations based on real values and the true contribution of different branches and sectors of production. The desire to make a policy out of every price and every form of economic relation militates against the internal laws of the economy. Following an analysis of the system of procurement and wholesale prices, views have been expressed that the need may arise to make changes in some retail prices also. The party has taken the view and made efforts to ensure that these prices remain stable. This plenum can reconfirm that primary and necessary goods will continue to be sold at unchanging and guaranteed prices, while the prices of certain other nonprimary and necessary goods, if necessary, can change, making this a further factor in encouraging labor productivity and meeting demand better. Anyway, Comrade Ramiz said further, all these major issues involving the finance and credit system, wages, and prices are in the process of study. The task of this plenum is to express views and principles on the main issues, and to assess the political, economic, and social consequences that stem from them. Meanwhile, state and research bodies must accelerate their work and aim at solutions for recommendation.

The experience of socialist construction, especially in the eighties, this decade of progress, relying solely on our own economic resources, has shown that the initiative of the masses can be encouraged more in order to better fulfill the needs of the people. Thus we may encourage citizens to build more houses with their own funds not only in villages, but in agricultural enterprises, where labor can be organized within the cooperative. In towns and work centers far away from them the repair and extension of existing private houses can be undertaken, as well as the construction of houses by citizens, as individuals, or by agreement in groups, by signing contracts with mutual obligations. The mechanism of our economy will make it in consequence [words indistinct] the balance between supply and demand. The real dependency of production and consumption on the market demands a careful application of economic [passage indistinct].

The fewer production resources are required to produce a consumer goods item, the better it is for society.

Comrade Ramiz further stressed that increasing the supply of industrially produced foodstuffs is one of the main priorities in the 1990 plan. Matching the purchasing power of the people with material products will at present and in the future demand an increase in our agriculture's production of food. Under these conditions, the stimulus of agricultural and livestock production must be considered a constant duty. We have taken some measures, but they must be extended. For instance, it must be recalled that the collective farms, the small herds and fields, must play a greater role in supplying the people. [passage indistinct]

## Fugitives in SFRY Describe Unrest in Shkoder

*AU2501200090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] There are frequent unrest and attempts to demolish symbols of the Stalinist regime in Albania; democratization of society is expected. This was stated among other things by four young Albanian citizens who escaped into Yugoslavia yesterday via the Plav region, and who are now serving the 1-month jail sentence handed down by the Plav misdemeanors court. Jagos Stojanovic has the details:

As announced by the information committee of the republican Executive Council in Titograd, the reason for the flight of these young people from Albania was disagreement with the regime, difficult living conditions, and an attempt to go to relatives in America.

They described popular protests in Shkoder and the surrounding area which took place on the 11th and 14th of this month and which were aimed at demolishing Stalin's monument and showing the willingness of the people to bring down the regime in Albania. Members of special units quickly intervened on 11 January in order to disperse 2,000 to 3,000 citizens, without force. However, the arrest of the organizers, who were recognized from films of the incident, was carried out 2 days later when police enforcements arrived from Tirana.

On 14 January there was a new gathering of 6,000-7,000 Shkoder people whose aim was to demolish Stalin's statue. When with a shout [words indistinct] the sign to start destroying the statue, the police used smoke bombs and batons to quickly and efficiently intervene. Participants in this meeting were later arrested and mistreated, but they were sent home after 10 or 12 hours.

According to the aforementioned announcement in Titograd, the fugitives have stated that Shkoder is blocked by strong police forces and there is little probability of new unrest.

In order to improve the situation, Ramiz Alia made some concessions to the people and thus came into conflict with Nexhmije Hoxha.

### Further on National Assembly Session

*AU2501123490 Sofia BTA in English 1130 GMT 26 Jan 90*

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—The National Assembly session continues its work. The Draft Law on the Property Responsibility for Damages, Caused in [Foreign] Currency, was voted at first reading, in spite of the grounded proposal made by Yana Zabounova, M.P. of the BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] that it should be returned and included in the Law for Transactions With Currency Valuables and Currency Control, which has been existing for 24 years.

The M.P.s who spoke in support of the law endorsement grounded themselves with the frequent abuses with currency and commodity material valuables.

The Draft Law for a Change of the Law for State and People's Control was approved at first reading. The changes in this law are in the texts related to the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] leading role on the control bodies. In future they are to work under the leadership of the state bodies.

A new text is also added to this law which envisages a possibility to appeal against the control bodies resolutions: the disciplinary punishments "reprimand" and "severe reprimand" in an administrative way while the more serious punishments like "shifting to a lower paid work" and "dismissal" in a judicial way.

The proposal to stop the work of the Committee for State and People's Control, as a product of the command and administrative system, was not accepted.

### Land Use Decree Debated

*AU2501150090 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—The debates on new legislation continue in the National Assembly. The M.P.'s voted in principle the draft law on change of the law on the income tax. This law brings the minimum not subjected to taxes into line with the smallest salary introduced in the middle of last year: 140 leva per month. More favourable conditions are created in the taxation of group incomes of families outside the public sector. The head of the family is taxed for the income of the whole family.

The decree on the use of the land and realization of the agricultural activity which was introduced to be endorsed was subjected to heavy criticism. It was pointed out that these substantial issues should be solved by law. The M.P.'s spoke of the grave state of agriculture caused by the founding of agro-industrial complexes as a basic form in this branch. The opinion prevailed that the adoption of this decree should not any longer be postponed. All other small and large issues should be solved after the development of a separate law on the land.

The decree which grants the local bodies the right to determine the significance of the cultural monuments on their territory was subjected to critical dissection. Practice has shown that often they are not aware of the objects' real value, it sometimes happens that they even destroy them.

It was proposed that for the time being everything will be decided by the respective central institutions but the opinion of the local bodies of power will be taken into consideration.

There were complications about the decree with amendments and addenda of the Law on the Communes' Establishment: the new enlarged administrative units in the country. The discussion placed under doubts the justifiability of this territorial division.

### Proposals on Education

*AU2501145890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] The 14th session of the Ninth National Assembly continues. Lilyana Yancheva reports:

[Begin Yancheva recording] The afternoon session began at 1500 [1300 GMT]. The discussion of the Law on Academic Autonomy of the Higher Educational Establishments began. Our listeners know that yesterday a special group introduced to the permanent commissions a new draft law, which differs from the one that was published. Boris Spasov, who read the commissions' report, briefed the National Assembly on the new proposal. Let me mention some of its new elements: A new paragraph is added to the first article, according to which the state gives the higher educational establishments autonomy in the educational process, scientific research, and related activities conducted in the higher educational establishments.

A new paragraph is proposed in Article 2. According to it, the rights of the higher educational establishments, based on this law and on the Law on Higher Education, cannot be amended or restricted by the state organs and other organizations, except in cases envisioned by the Constitution.

There are many new elements in the proposals. However, the people's deputies unanimously adopted it without any statements.

The discussion of the next item of the agenda—the report of the Parliamentary Commission on Studying the Rila and Mesta Hydro Power Projects—began with a report by commission chairman Ivan Popov. The debates continue. [end recording]

### Strikes Discussed

*AU2501182490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] [Announcer] I am now contacting my colleague Yasen Indzhev in the reporters' room at the National

Assembly so that I can ask him to summarize the most important events at today's session.

[Indzhev] I will not try to summarize absolutely everything that has been said so far, but I think that it is now possible to go through the chronology of today's discussions for our listeners.

I will only remind our listeners that after much debate, the people's deputies approved the draft law submitted to the National Assembly on meetings, rallies, and demonstrations; the draft law on material responsibility for foreign currency losses; the draft law on amending the Law on State and People's Control; the draft law on amending the general income tax; and the normative decrees on land and agriculture, on cultural monuments and museums. The regulation on administrative divisions of the country into oblasts was repealed. A draft law was also adopted on the academic autonomy of higher educational establishments. By these acts, all the above draft laws have already acquired the force of law.

An exceptionally sharp debate took place on the report of the parliamentary commission for investigating the issues connected with the construction of the Rila Water Supply Project and the Mesta Hydro Project. After a sharp clash of opinions, with many speaking for and against, it was decided that the construction should continue, with changes in the design projects. I personally was expecting the people's deputies to take more account of the views of the public, but the arguments of the specialists quoted in the commission's report prevailed.

There was a dramatic development in the events surrounding the report of the parliamentary commission to investigate the statements by citizens from Ruse, and, of course, the demand for the resignation of Petur Petrov from the post of minister of construction, architecture, and amenities. I refrain from making any comment on the report that was delivered, because it was accepted purely for its informative value. As far as the matter of Minister Petur Petrov's resignation is concerned, this motion was not accepted. The organs of the Chief Prosecutor's Office were instructed to carry out an examination both into the accusations made and the doubts expressed concerning the slanderous assertions.

At the moment, under the chairmanship of National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov, the people's deputies are discussing a plan for legislative activity in 1990. Stanko Todorov is now making a statement.

[Todorov] The parliamentary groups of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and the chairman of the National Assembly wish to propose to the people's deputies that the session be suspended and that discussion of the remaining items on the agenda be held during the second part of the session, on 8 February, and, if the work is not completed then, on 9 February 1990.

The arguments in favor of this proposal are as follows: First, we consider that the questions that we have to consider in connection with the report of the chairman of the Council of Ministers are so important and give rise to such a level of public interest that the National Assembly must devote more time to discussing them comprehensively and in depth.

Second, it would be useful to hold additional consultations on these questions with the main sociopolitical forces in Bulgaria because the implementation of the urgent measures for economic stabilization will require a high degree of public consensus.

Third, the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress is soon to take place, at which it is expected that the party will discuss its policy on these vitally important issues as well.

This would give the people's deputies from the BCP the opportunity to take part in discussing the stabilization measures, bearing in mind the views and decisions that the chief party organ will adopt.

In addition, the BZNS is due to hold its Extraordinary 36th Congress at the end of February. In the period of preparation for the congress, the BZNS members will also have a better opportunity to consider in depth and form, with a sense of responsibility, their views on these problems.

For the reasons stated, I move that the National Assembly should suspend its work and examine the remaining items on the agenda at the next meeting of this session, which will be held at 1000 on 8 February 1990.

Are there any other proposals on this matter? None. [Indistinct words] They will stay as they are. Everything stays on the agenda as it was previously. People's deputies, will those who are for this proposal, for us to suspend now the work of the session, and to continue at 1000 on 8 February, please vote.

[Indzhev] The proposal by National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov was a great surprise to our team, but I think that the arguments for this suspension of the session are very strong. It now appears that Stanko Todorov has a further declaration to make.

[Todorov] Esteemed people's deputies, I now read a declaration for adoption by the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Declaration of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

During recent days, numerous labor collectives have been putting forward demands for immediate wage increases, for a reclassification of labor on retirement, for improving working conditions, and for resolving other social problems. They are making demands for changes in the economic leaderships, for leaving companies, and so on. It is particularly alarming that a great proportion of these demands are being made in the form

of ultimatums, and by resorting to strikes, the possibilities are exhausted for preliminary investigations and negotiations. As a result of the strikes, our economy faces the real danger of major destabilization, with consequences for the lives of millions of people that will be difficult to correct.

The National Assembly takes into account that many of the demands of the labor collectives are well-founded; they are the result of the distortions, incorrect decisions, neglect, and inaction that have accumulated over many years. Along with this, there are many cases when the demands are not sufficiently justified, or require additional investigations and settlement in stages, in accordance with possibilities of the the country and the relevant enterprises and companies. Some of these just demands were met by the government by increasing the wages of those working in the spheres of health care, education, science, and culture, by increasing the minimum pensions to 100 leva, and other measures, for which means have been provided from the budget valued at more than 1 billion leva.

These expenditures mean an additional strain on the country's financial balances, and increase the existing imbalance between the amount of money in circulation and the commodity resources. During January 1990 alone, over 70,000 persons had their jobs reclassified into more favorable categories. New demands are continuously being made for additional reclassification, and these already cover about 1 million people.

The National Assembly considers that the solving of such questions should be carried out on the basis of an assessment of the general state of the economy, taking into account the principles of social justice and the chain of consequences following any partial solution.

Bearing this in mind, the National Assembly considers the following measures are necessary:

First, to set up a governmental commission to conduct an overall examination of the classification of labor in the national economy. The commission should work on a broad public foundation, with the participation of the trade union organizations and scientific institutes, and should submit its proposals to the Council of Ministers, at the latest, before the end of the first half of 1990.

Second, by the same deadline, the government should submit a draft law for social security in which the questions of the classification of labor into categories in all branches and activities should be settled in a fundamental new, contemporary, and integrated way.

Third, in order to create conditions for a just and democratic solution of the questions relating to labor classification, the National Assembly makes an appeal to all the labor collectives to refrain from strikes during the period determined for submission of the proposals by the government commission.

Fourth, the Legislative Commission, the Commission for Defense of Social Interests and Human Rights, and the Social Policy Commission should take measures to hasten the preparation of a draft law on resolving labor conflicts, and submit it to the National Assembly for examination by the end of February.

Does anyone wish to state a view concerning the proposed declaration of the National Assembly? [brief pause] No one wishes to do so. Would the people's deputies who agree that this declaration be adopted please indicate their votes. [pause] Any votes against? None. The declaration is adopted unanimously.

With this, I now close the session. We will continue on 8 February.

## Debate on Academic Autonomy

*AU2501194290 Sofia BTA in English 1801 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—The National Assembly passed the Collegiate Autonomy Act adopted at first reading at the previous session. It was pointed out that its final variant was worked out by taking into consideration the proposals made during the nationwide discussion. Twenty-five out of 31 collegiates in total took a stand on the bill, along with 17 independent student societies, different clubs and organizations, the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, the Student Council, the Student Information Centre. More than 208 proposals were made.

The act grants autonomy to the establishments of higher education in their educative and scientific work as well as in all related activities.

The new point is that according to this act and the Education Act the rights of the collegiates cannot be changed or limited by any state bodies or other organizations, except for the cases defined in the Constitution.

The act lists the bodies which guarantee collegiate autonomy and independence. The higher education establishments are given broader possibilities for solving their problems of staff.

The construction projects "Rila" and "Mesta" which have given rise to much controversy on the part of the public were postponed. The former involves diverting a big amount of water from Mount Rila to the capital and other settlements and the latter is a power-generation project. The two of them were sharply criticized by the ecological movement and their construction was suspended at the end of last year.

The National Assembly discussed the report of the special parliamentary commission in which it is pointed out that the projects are not backed up by the necessary technological, economic and ecological expert opinion and that no alternative variants have been offered.

The speakers underlined that the future real water requirements of the capital are not clear yet. On the other hand a number of settlements along the giant water main are suffering from water shortages even now. An opinion was expressed that it is these settlements that should be given priority.

Another shortcoming of the present water supply systems is that they involve a great loss of water—up to 30 per cent of the total flow. It was pointed out that it is necessary to use more modern methods.

The projects will be streamlined and submitted for nationwide discussion.

The episode involving the resignation of the minister of construction, architecture and urban development, Mr Petur Petrov, started like a minor personal drama but ended in a triumph: The National Assembly decided to let him keep his job and to sue his slanderers.

Although indirectly, this gives satisfaction to many other leaders at all levels around the country, who are now the target of invectives.

Mr Petur Petrov is a former first secretary of the Communist Party in the City of Ruse, the scene of an acute ecological crisis in the 1980's. The citizens vented their indignation on the city leaders. Mr Petur Petrov drew fire even after he moved to the capital. All sorts of accusations against him have recently appeared in the press, and on December 15 the National Assembly set up a commission to look into a petition signed by over 4,000 members of the public.

The commission found that Mr Petur Petrov has repeatedly raised the ecological issue with the central leadership but it was left unconsidered. At the same time, the panel arrived at the conclusion that the former first secretary worked in good faith even though he used "administer-and-command methods."

Mr Petur Petrov himself recalled that other methods were simply non-existent until recently. He dismissed many of the damning facts which have been published in the press and said they were indications of a deliberate smear campaign. This reversed the debate and won over the sympathy of the entire chamber. The resignation was ultimately turned down.

Mr Petur Petrov and other speakers voiced concern over the invectives against personnel in position of responsibility around the country. It was suggested that in future the victims of slander go to law to get redress.

### Various Bills Approved

*AU2501194490 Sofia BTA in English*
*1850 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—The National Assembly carried the bills which went through a first-reading vote this morning.

The Meetings, Rallies and Demonstrations Act was modified to lay down that they may not be held in immediate proximity to the National Assembly and to military installations and military industrial facilities.

As to the Amendments to the State and People's Control Act, it was acknowledged that the objections against that act are well-grounded as a whole but it cannot be repealed straightaway because it is associated with a number of other laws and the respective parliamentary committee has not been given such a mandate so far.

For similar reasons, the parliament decided to shelve consideration of some State Council decrees. The well-founded suggestions will be incorporated in other pieces of legislation.

### Assembly Session Adjourns

*AU2501202290 Sofia BTA in English*
*1933 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—The National Assembly approved a new plan for its legislative work this year which lists three new bills: on the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, on cooperatives and on inventions and rationalizations.

It was further resolved to resume the session on February 8 to complete the agenda. The adjournment was motivated by the need to consider more carefully the economic report of the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The National Assembly adopted a declaration in connection with the demands for pay rises, higher job grades on retirement, better working conditions and a number of other grievances of workforces around the country.

It was emphasized that these matters should be settled on the basis of an assessment of the overall state of the economy, taking into consideration the chain reaction triggered off by any piecemeal solution.

The National Assembly therefore deems it necessary that a governmental commission be appointed to review the entire system of job grading in the national economy. It will submit its suggestions to the Council of Ministers by the end of June. Within the same time limit, the government will introduce a social security bill.

The National Assembly called on all workforces in the country to refrain from strike action in the intervening period. The appropriate standing committees were assigned to speed the drafting of an industrial disputes bill and to submit it to parliament by the end of February.

### Raids Attempted on Several BCP Offices

*AU2501202190 Sofia BTA in English*
*1915 GMT 25 Jan 90*

["Prosecutor's Office Reports Attempts To Raid BCP Committees"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—The Prosecutor General's Office of Bulgaria reports cases of "gross violations of law and order which impede the normal operation of state and public institutions and which constitute breaches of the peace."

At [words indistinct] on January 24, 1990, a group of some 100 placard-carrying and chanting people called for lynching the Communists in front of the headquarters of the Serdika Borough Committee of the BCP in Sofia. Some members of the mob were under the influence of alcohol.

Some of those involved tried to raid the premises of the borough committee but were prevented from doing so by the police. Part of the crowd then headed for the national police force directorate building where they chanted "killers."

The space in front of the headquarters of the BCP Sofia City Committee and in front of the regional and municipal BCP committees in Plovdiv, Varna and other towns around the country has been the scene of similar actions, the announcement says.

The Prosecutor General's Office of Bulgaria says that the Penal Code lays criminal liability for some of those actions. Directions have been issued to track down the culprits and to initiate criminal proceedings against them.

### Finance Minister on Damage Caused by Strikes

*AU2601083290 Sofia BTA in English 0818 GMT 26 Jan 90*

["Finance Minister Calls for Order and Discipline"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—Bulgaria would sustain disastrous losses if the strike wave continues, warned Mr Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, in a televised interview late last night.

He said that production dropped 13 per cent in December 1989, an unprecedented decline in Bulgarian economy which used to catch up in December with the work left undone earlier in the year. As a result, almost no growth of gross national product was registered, Mr Belchev said.

The minister of finance said the Government was resolved to avoid "shock therapy" (a freeze of wages and prices) and to create conditions for overcoming the crisis by tapping economic reserves. "I am firmly convinced that Bulgaria has the requisite economic and scientific capacities," Mr Belcho Belchev said.

He recalled that 1,200,000,000 leva have been allocated so far to meet just demands of various categories of working people, and that the money has come from a cut-down on state expenses. Nearly 70,000 people have benefited from the pay rises. However, the exchequer will be unable to meet further demands, Mr Belcho Belchev said and called for order and discipline in the economy.

Mixed reaction is expected to the finance minister's appeal. Last night Bulgarian Television reported a declaration of the workers in a major stock-breeding farm who are outraged at the strikes, call on all farmers for uninterrupted work and ... warn that they will cut off meat and milk supply to towns and villages where workers go on strike.

### Sofia, Ruse Teachers Form Strike Committee

*AU2501164090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Here is an announcement:

On 23 January, delegates representing the staff at schools and children's establishments in Sofia and Ruse, the Democratic Teachers Movement, and the teachers syndical organization attached to the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation established a national strike committee with an open structure in order to coordinate the strike action by Bulgarian teachers.

The national strike committee announced that beginning at 1400 today it is holding strike talks. Here are four telephone numbers that listeners can use: 43-29-60, 62-78-65, 21-47-04, and 44-95-02.

### Svishtov Strike Against Belene Nuclear Plant

*AU2501141690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Today all enterprises in Svishtov are conducting a symbolic strike in support of the appeal of the "Mothers Against the Construction of the Belene Nuclear Plant" Initiative Committee. More than 6,000 postcards have been sent to the National Assembly session. About 20,000 signatures have been collected. They all insist on stopping the construction of the nuclear power plant.

### Union Newspaper on Current Labor Conflicts

*AU2501092390 Sofia BTA in English 0853 GMT 25 Jan 90*

["Labour Teams and Strikes—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—As many as 264 labour conflicts with 100,000 participants have arisen in Bulgaria in the period between December 25 and January 23, writes today TRUD. Most often affected are the transport, mining, metallurgy and energy, health care, education and construction. Things often go to a readiness to go on strike. In 22.7 per cent of the cases (from the figure indicated above) there is a symbolic or real strike. There also cases of hunger strikes.

The reasons for that are presented in detail: payment, labour conditions, style of management, desire for an economic independence of the enterprises and their wish

to come out of the company-based system, dismissals of workers and experts and their redirection to other spheres, a result of conversion as well as other reasons.

### Komsomol Appeal, Various Rallies Noted

*AU2501122090*

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 22 January 1990 carries on page 2 several news reports, totalling 1,200 words, under the headline: "21 January—Topical Events" reporting various recent events in Sofia and the provinces.

The first 200-word item reports a statement submitted to BTA by the Komsomol delegation designated to participate in the roundtable talks. It supports a recent statement by Academician Blagovest Sendov who proposed that "other social forces" should participate in the roundtable talks, in addition to delegations of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], and the Union of Democratic Forces.

The statement adds that "regardless of the question of what quota of the national roundtable should be allocated to the Komsomol, it will not feel committed to any side and will work from the position of a social alternative for the achievement of a national consensus."

The second, 150-word item reports an appeal of the Unity Democratic Civic Forum, which "insists on being admitted with its representatives to the national roundtable talks."

The third, 250-word item is datelined Svishtov and reports on a protest rally held on 21 January on the town's central square, in which thousands of people are reported to have participated, together with representatives of Ecoglasnost from Sofia, Pleven, Ruse, Veliko Turnovo, Belene, Polski Trumbezh, and Kozloduy.

Over 15 speakers spoke on "the local population's neglected right to express their opinions on the construction of a nuclear power station in the area, and on the great risk of a nuclear power station explosion in a zone prone to earthquakes, on the enormous damage that radiation might cause to the Svishtov-Belene area."

A resolution was adopted at the rally "insisting on a halt to the construction of the Belene Nuclear Power Station, on a complete financial review of the project, on preparing an alternative plan, and on using the resources invested in the project for the needs of agriculture, light industry, the food industry, and scientific research related to energy-saving productions and the search for alternative, new energy sources."

The fourth and last item reports on a rally held on 21 January in Makedonia Square in Blagoevgrad, organized by the local Union of Democratic Forces organization. It was attended by Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the union, and by "leaders of the Podkrepa Independent Federation of Labor, by members of the clubs for democracy and glasnost and members of the Independent Union for the Defense of Human Rights."

The report notes that "Zvezdomir Marinov, representative of Ion Iliescu, chairman of the Romanian National Salvation Front Council" also attended the meeting." The guest from Romania is reported as "expressing sincere gratitude for the selfless material and moral support accorded by the Bulgarian people to the Romanian people, when with heavy loss of life and much suffering they overthrew the detestable Ceausescu regime and defended their right to a life in freedom."

### BCP CC Plenum Discusses Party Documents

*AU2601072890 Sofia BTA in English 2312 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party held a plenum at the Georgi Kirkov Hall of the Central Committee Headquarters this evening.

An official announcement on the meeting says that it was attended by the full and the alternate members of the Central Committee and by the chairman and the members of the Bureau of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Central Control and Auditing Commission.

The agenda included a debate on the drafts for a Manifesto on Democratic Socialism in Bulgaria, for new BCP rules and a political report of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP to the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress entitled "The Party's Restructuring and the Building of Democratic Socialist Society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

Twenty participants addressed the plenum.

Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, made a closing speech.

The Central Committee resolved that the draft documents be submitted for consideration to the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the BCP.

### BCP 'Democratic Forum' Platform Discussed

*AU0801133790 Sofia BTA in English 1303 GMT 8 Jan 90*

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—A representative of the Coordination Committee of BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Democratic Forum has no fears as to a split in the BCP, should it happen. In the interview published in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO Mr Dragomir Draganov says that up to now the syndrome of monolithic unity has been first of all an obstacle to the Communists' real work.

The representative of the radical left of the BCP makes a number of demands for changes in the party, the causes for which he sees in turning the party machine and the huge personnel involved in servicing it into a parasitic

stratum accommodating interests of its own and redistributing, uncontrolled, for years on end the funds accumulated out of membership dues. He underlines that this stratum has disgraced all Communists.

Asked about the motives that made the Democratic Forum to advertise a number of demands already laid down in the resolutions of the latest plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, Mr Draganov answered, "With the present structure of the party and the still existing party machine these resolutions will be only on paper— it's the same to ask somebody saw off the bough on which he's sitting". He says that a huge mass of medium and lower-level party machine delegates may be sent to the Extraordinary Congress of the BCP from places where there is no trace of having begun changes and the voices of the radically minded Communists may be drowned in their loud choir. That is why radical demands must be made known to the broad public.

The Democratic Forum maintains the opinion that a government of national concord should be formed to rule the country until the democratic elections and that the Army, the police and justice should be depoliticized. The wish is underlined for participation in the roundtable talks and it is insisted that the membership of the commission working on the preparation for the Extraordinary Congress should be immediately made public.

### Lukanov Statement at Roundtable Talks

*AU2601102690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Jan 90 pp 1, 2*

[Report by Vasil Popov and Dilyan Todorov: "The Common Denominator—Radical Changes"]

[Excerpts] Sofia, 23 January—Today the "table" really became "round." We thought that we would be able to publish all the statements, but this proved impossible because of their great number and length. [passage omitted containing reports on participants' statements]

In his statement, Andrey Lukanov spoke on the issues included in the agenda of the first official "roundtable" meeting. First, he spoke about the socialist foundation and prospects of our society—a topic that was not included in the statements read until then, which, however, could not be ignored because it affects millions of Bulgarian citizens. Without dealing with this issue, one cannot approach the next one, namely, "what we have achieved since 9 September [1944], and not just what mistakes we have made." He stressed that the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] decisively broke away from the neo-Stalinist model of socialism and its management techniques. This was dome because precisely this kind of pseudosocialism is experiencing historical bankruptcy today. "However," he said, "we announce with even greater determination our adherence to defending socialism, the democratic and humane socialism, which we consider to be the only one that can guarantee the Bulgarian people the optimum combination of modern economic progress, social justice, and complete intellectual development." However, he also pointed out that the BCP is prepared to seek common ground and cooperation with all those who advocate the construction of a democratic and law-governed state and civic society in Bulgaria, regardless of their political convictions.

Andrey Lukanov also spoke about the BCP positions on the issues that were discussed. "We attach special importance to the constitutional changes," he said. "They must guarantee a modern democratic order, an efficient state system and structures, legality, the proper defense of the people's human and civil rights, national consensus and unity, and external security for the entire Bulgarian nation." This cannot be achieved within the framework of the current Constitution. Nevertheless, the people's representatives of the BCP, together with those of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] and independent National Assembly members, have begun work on amending the Constitution with a view to asserting maximum democratic changes. Andrey Lukanov spoke about what has been done so far in this respect and discussed the issue of the forthcoming parliamentary elections. Justifying the necessity of holding them as quickly as possible in order to form a parliament that corresponds to the needs of a multiparty democracy and political pluralism, he pointed out that the parliament must really be a functioning supreme organ, actively and constantly performing legislative functions in a law-governed state. In this context, the BCP is prepared to face the people in free and democratic elections with a specific program, seek the people's confidence with political means, and unconditionally respect the people's judgment. In connection with the opinions expressed on the previous day, he stressed that any delay in holding the parliamentary elections would delay the entire process of democratization in our society. Simultaneously, it is necessary to work out and adopt the most urgent laws, without which it would be impossible, or at least very difficult, to hold democratic and free elections. We need, first of all, a new election law and a law on the press, which will deal with the issue of the radio and television as special national institutions and will provide for public control over their activity. A law on rallies and demonstrations and a law on associations also are necessary. "This is the minimum program that must be implemented in legislating activity before the next stage—the stage of parliamentary elections—so that this stage can be smoothly completed." Discussion about these issues must take place not only at the "roundtable." General public opinion must be consulted. A referendum will be conducted, if necessary, for we must be absolutely clear as to the people's opinion, and then reach conclusions that can be incorporated in the foundation of the laws that are being prepared.

The next issue touched upon by Andrey Lukanov was the issue of the separation of powers. He expressed total and unreserved support for the separation of powers—both the separation of political parties from state and economic power and the division of state power into the

Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Branches. The creation of a constitutional court or another organ of supreme control will be a guarantee against relapses into monopoly power and attempts to revive autocratic power or a monopoly on power.

As far as the depoliticization of certain specific organs of state power is concerned, we support this idea. Certain organs are national organs that stand above any party affiliation. No party organizations should exist in these organs. The BCP fundamental position on this issue is clear, and it was expressed in timely fashion.

Andrey Lukanov also spoke about the issue of preparing the new constitution as the next stage of democratizing our society, which will be preceded by free and democratic elections. The process of preparing the new constitution has already begun. It cannot develop in the present National Assembly because it lacks the necessary nationwide prestige. The very discussion of the Constitution must be an all-people process, while its adoption must be the subject of a referendum. In concluding his statement on the basic subject of the discussion, Andrey Lukanov said: "Without listing all steps that we must make along the road of reforming our political system, I think that I have presented the main elements that characterize the system of guarantees of the irreversibility of the process of democratization in Bulgaria. We think that the main thing is to incorporate the people in the system of power and ensure the real government of the people, self-management, public control and glasnost, and the unconditional assumption of supreme power in the country by the National Assembly." He also spoke about the readiness of the party to participate in creating a coalition government, the peaceful transition toward democratic government, the BCP achievements during the period after 9 September, the process of radical renewal of the party, and its serious, and occasionally painful, reassessment of its historical road in its striving to become a party that could be a factor in the democratization of the Bulgarian society and political life. He did not deny the accusation that the BCP occasionally acts sluggishly and indecisively, and that at times it had committed mistakes. However, he pointed out that much had been accomplished in the past 2 and a half months. "I would even say that they were impressive accomplishments," Andrey Lukanov said. It is pleasing to point out that all this was achieved under conditions of relative social calm. "Yesterday Zhelyu Zhelev said that the fact that we are lagging behind the developments in the other East European states should or must offend our national self-awareness. I subscribe to the opposite thesis," Andrey Lukanov said in conclusion. [passage omitted on statements of other participants in the roundtable]

## Managers Union 'Open Letter' to Roundtable

*AU2501211390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Bulgarian Radio has received an open letter from the National Union of Economic Leaders in Bulgaria, addressed to Andrey Lukanov and Zhelyu Zhelev, the chairmen of the national roundtable.

The letter expresses their concern over the further deterioration of the economic situation in the country, which has been created by the confusion and instability in economic life and the unilateral measures proposed for emerging from the crisis.

Even today, economic leaders continue to be kept on the sidelines during the adoption of important economic decisions on the national scale. The employers, who directly organize and manage the economic activity and who carry the responsibility for improving the nation's living standard, are reduced to mere fulfillers of the will of others, the open letter states.

In conclusion, the letter insists that the National Union of Economic Leaders in Bulgaria, as an organization uniting those who assume the responsibilities and the full weight of the crisis in the country, should take its place at the national roundtable.

## Trade Union Demands Roundtable Participation

*AU2301132290 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 21 Jan 90 p 2*

["Statement" by Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions, at the nationwide roundtable meeting in Sofia on 18 January]

[Text] The Bulgarian public and the million-strong members of the Indepedent Bulgarian Trade Unions have been informed that the idea of a nationwide "roundtable," in which representatives of all major social organizations should participate, has actually remained unfulfilled. Despite our categorical position and the protest we have expressed on this subject, a bilateral meeting between the ruling parties—the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]— and independent National Assembly deputies, on the one side, and the official opposition, namely the Union of Demcratic Forces [UDF], on the other, was held today.

Our current, second discussion is evidently treated as a secondary event.

In this connection, I am authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Provisional Executive Committee of the independent Bulgarian Trade Unions:

1. We do not object to the fact that the ruling parties and the opposition forces should conduct negotiations concerning the future political system in our country and the reform of the legislative system and socioeconomic problems. Nevertheless, as an independent organization, we insist on being able to participate in this dialogue on an equal basis.

We once more confirm that we do not claim to participate in the establishment and distribution of power. Nevertheless, we insist on being able to express our views

and the views of millions of trade union members on this issue. The dismantling of the totalitarian system and the transition to real democracy in our country should be accomplished, while at the same time guaranteeing the working people's social and economic rights and interests.

2. At the national "roundtable" discussion, we would speak on behalf of 2 million working people who are members of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions and who participated in organizing a referendum in connection with the forthcoming "roundtable" talks. We declare our readiness to fulfill the task entrusted to us and to justify the working people's confidence by constantly briefing the trade union members on the progress of the negotiations. It is necessary for us to participate in the "roundtable" in order to have the working people's most urgent demands discussed at this nationwide forum.

The results of the referendum will be announced on television tonight and are expected to be reported by the other media tomorrow.

3. We are not supporters of extremist methods of political struggle, which would be likely to hurt our national economy and affect the people's living standard, the country's interests, and its international prestige. Nevertheless, we categorically declare that if our legitimate demand for equal participation in a common nationwide "roundtable" is rejected, we shall apply all the well-known and practicable methods of trade union struggle and all forms of social pressure. This is neither an arbitrary action, nor a demonstration of force, but the only possible way out of a preposterous situation, in which both political forces that have been conducting bilateral negotiations over the last few days have placed us.

4. We regard today's meetings merely as consultations related to a forthcoming nationwide "roundtable." We once again confirm our proposal on the topics and most important priorities that should be discussed at the "roundtable," a proposal that we submitted in the declaration of the Provisional Executive Committee published yesterday.

5. We insist that the mass media should have the opportunity to widely observe and report the current dialogue. 18 January 1990.

## Anniversary of Birth of Gorunya Marked

*AU2201213590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jan 90 p 4*

[BTA report: "After a Long Silence"]

[Text] Vratsa, 18 January (BTA)—Today an all-city rally marked the 74th anniversary of the birth of Ivan Todorov-Gorunya and his posthumous rehabilitation as a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP].

His former comrades from the "Gavril Genov" partisan unit and from the first years of socialist construction, repressed Communists from the concocted trial of a group of "conspirators" in June 1965, and representatives of his native village Gorna Kremena and the Iskur region gathered in Vratsa. Ivan Velchev, Gorunya's comrade-in-arms, recounted memories of the hero. He spoke about Gorunya's boundless and selfless loyalty to the BCP's ideas, which prompted him to sharply criticize the BCP Central Committee's and Todor Zhivkov's mistakes. For this position of his, defined as "conspiracy," he was killed in April 1965. The rally demanded that political and judicial responsibility be applied to his murderers. It was proposed to erect a monument to Ivan Todorov-Gorunya in his native village.

## 'Plot' Details Revealed

*AU2501151190 Sofia BTA in English 1438 GMT 25 Jan 90*

["1965: T. Zhivkov Defeats Plot Against his Monocracy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—A series of publications in the press these days reveal details about the plot in the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the Army against Todor Zhivkov's monocracy defeated 25 years ago.

The occasion for these publications is the announcement that Ivan Todorov-Gorunya, General Tsvyatko Anev and other Communists and officers who were expelled from the BCP have been fully rehabilitated by decision of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP and the Central Control and Auditing Committee of the party.

Ivan Todorov-Gorunya, a guerrilla commander in the antifascist resistance, BCP activist after 1944 and deputy minister of agriculture as of 1961, was the leader of the plot. For years the official version has had it that on April 8, 1965 he committed suicide. Now all publications point out that he was killed at home by the employees of the Special Services on the order of Zhivkov.

The ANTENI weekly carries an interview with one of the conspirators—General Anev, who at that time headed the Sofia garrison. After the plot was uncovered he was sentenced to a 12 years' imprisonment. Four years later he was released , but he was forbidden to leave Sofia and had to sign on regularly at the State Security. Nine people were sentenced at the trial. More than 200 officers were dismissed from the Army.

"We wanted to purge the party from all antiparty things. It was our aim to isolate Todor Zhivkov and his group together with his bodyguards and give the Central Committee the possibility of solving all problems in compliance with the Marxist-Leninist line, and not with the monocratic one. None of ever aspired for high-ranking posts", General Anev said. In his opinion it was Gorunya's mistake that he did not keep silent and confronted Zhivkov openly.

Gorunya's son Todor Todorov, an economist, tells that in February or March 1965 his father came home from a session at the CC of the BCP and told him, "I defeated Zhivkov on all political, ideological and economic problems..." At several plenums of the CC of the BCP Gorunya openly spoke against the erroneous policy of the then leadership of the party and the state, against the distortions of the socialist ideal and in favour of wrongly accused Communists.

Todor Todorov is convinced that his father's murder is directly connected with the replacement of Khrushchev by Brezhnev in Moscow. "Realizing that most Communists may give their support to Gorunya instead [of] to him, Zhivkov decided to trump up a case, fabricate a suicide version and physically do away with my father", he says.

General Anev reveals facts according to which in 1965, at the time of the famous April Plenum of the CC of the BCP, Todor Zhivkov came into power as a result of a coup, isolating part of the Army before it.

He says, "Gorunya did not commit suicide, he was killed. Shot in the head. Two killers were sent to his home, one of them is alive. When he was taken to the hospital, Gorunya was still breathing. He was in his underwear. Nobody would commit suicide dressed like that. They shot him and immediately took him to the emergency ward. How could they know that he'd commit suicide to have the ambulance car with them? "

General Anev says that 25 years ago there were no conditions for the conspirators to go underground. "The people and the leaders did not know yet what the country would be brought to. Now even the blind realize that we are on the verge of ruin", he stated.

## BBC, Deutsche Welle Editors View Media

*AU2501131990 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 4, 22 Jan 90 pp 2,3*

[Unattributed report: "How Is the View From There?"]

[Text] People in our country are listening to Bulgarian language programs broadcast by Western radio. This undeniable fact cannot be disregarded. We established telephone contacts with the chiefs of Bulgarian language sections at BBC and Deutsche Welle, asking them to answer the three following questions:

1. What kind of changes have you recently observed in Bulgarian mass media?

2. Can you describe still existing shortcomings in Bulgarian journalism?

3. How is Bulgaria's new situation presented in your media?

John Woodward, chief editor of the BBC program to Bulgaria, answered as follows:

1. In the last few months, I have observed striking changes both in the Bulgarian press and radio. Issues that were not even mentioned in the past are now being discussed in detail. People who would never have been approached in the past are being interviewed. Prior to 10 November 1989, we frequently received telephone calls from Bulgarian listeners, asking us how to get hold of the text of the International Human Rights Charter, while RABOTNICHESKO DELO recently published excerpts from it, followed by an article written by Yuliy Bakhnev, secretary of the Human Rights Committee in Bulgaria, who, in the past, would also have encountered difficulties in publishing his views. I was impressed by the fact that OTECHESTVEN FRONT published an interview with Turkey's Foreign Minister Mezut Yilmaz in one of its last issues. I was also surprised to see the results of a reader's poll conducted by the trade unions published in TRUD. The same applies to Bulgarian Radio. I could cite many more examples, but generally speaking, I would like to conclude that the selection of subjects has changed, and that a wider range of opinions is submitted to readers and radio listeners in Bulgaria.

2. Subjects are not always exhaustively analyzed and the media often fail to submit a full range of different opinions. I will cite the example of an interview with Annabelle Markova on Bulgarian Television in which she mentioned the fact that the poisoned pellet that killed her husband could not have been produced at the initiative of a single individual, but only with the assistance of a whole state apparatus. We certainly approve of the fact that Annabelle Markova was interviewed by the Bulgarian mass media. Unfortunately, however, as she claims herself, the aforementioned portion of her statement was omitted.

Certain changes can also be observed in the outward appearance of the newspaper. Efforts toward making them more attractive are visible. More photographic material is supplied. Nevertheless, from the point of view of Western observers, editors do not seem eager to attract the readers' attention. RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 10 January 1990, for example, carries the two following headlines on its front page: "Discussion for the Future, and "Open-minded and Constructive Dialogue," which can hardly be described as captivating.

Nevertheless, the most alarming fact is that despite the new situation, all newspapers are still controlled by the same old organizations. No independent, new publications with wide circulation have so far appeared. It is true that numerous newspapers in Great Britain are controlled by a few media magnates [magnat], but some independent dailies and magazines were recently established in this country and are doing quite well.

3. We at BBC's Bulgarian Section intend to pursue our efforts in providing our listeners with prompt, objective and full information about international developments and about events in Bulgaria, and Great Britain, in particular. We hope that the new situation in Bulgaria should facilitate our contacts with Bulgarian society at

all levels to the benefit of our information. The Bulgarian Section of BBC had established rather close relations with its colleagues from Sofia Radio in the immediate, postwar period. Let us hope that similar contacts may develop in the future.

Mikhayl Antonov, leader of the Bulgarian Section of Radio Deutsche Welle:

1. The changes that have occurred in Bulgarian newspapers, in radio, and television programs are visible for all of us, and I am glad to congratulate my colleagues, the journalists in Bulgaria, for their great opportunities to openly state their opinions. As a matter of fact, the majority of them are taking advantage of this opportunity. I frequently come across articles today that evoke my sincere admiration as a colleague.

Unfortunately, however, I must add that these are only the first steps. The time when Bulgarin press, radio and television will be capable of fully exercising the function of a fourth power and of playing their role as guarantors of justice and democracy, as they do in all developed, democratic states, is still far ahead.

2. The absence of free and independent publications is the chief shortcoming for the time being. In order to have equal chances in the future in free elections that were promised, every political party or group should be provided with the legal, or material opportunity of publishing its own press organs through which it can directly appeal to the citizens, or should be granted special time on the state-owned radio and television stations for its own programs.

This, however, does not exhaust the question of a free press. Free press exists only when the fate of the publications themselves and of the journalists working for them solely depends on the readers who are casting a vote of confidence in purchasing the newspaper.

Bulgaria needs independent newspapers and magazines that do not belong to any party, organization, or institution, but are purely journalistic, informative media.

As regards the articles and reports that are currently published, the cliches of the past are still prevailing, despite their different orientation. There is still too much rhetoric and slogans—especially in the headlines—while factual information is still either insufficient, or incomplete. Pseudo-literary ambitions are still prevailing in journalism, but what is even more unpleasant—the patronizing sermons of self-appointed journalists and writers preaching to the people are still widespread. They still seem to be unaware of the fact that citizens are mature and intelligent beings who want information and are eager to learn facts, but are perfectly capable of drawing their own conclusions.

I could point out as an example that Bulgarian Television is biasedly reporting on certain important domestic events. Unfortunately, certain subjects are still taboos for Bulgarian journalists and are banned from criticism. The sharpest critical remarks are related to the past, namely directed against the overthrown dignitaries. The new leaders, however, are usually mentioned with reverence. Hardly anyone dares to attack the State Security, which was the most important pillar of the overthrown regime.

3. Naturally, we are already changing and shall presumably further change the character of our programs about Bulgaria. You certainly remember the time when billions of Bulgarian leva were spent on jamming our programs, at the Bulgarian people's expense. Our task in those days was to inform the Bulgarian people on all facts that their rulers were hiding from them. Today, people can learn numerous facts—albeit not all of them—from the Bulgarian mass media. It is for this reason that we are increasingly playing the role of a corrective and complementary source of information—and it seems that we are going to exercise this function for some time. As paradoxical as it may seem to you, I think that our final goal shall be achieved when our programs on Bulgarian subjects become unnecessary. This means that in the future, Bulgarian citizens should obtain as much detailed and objective information as they wish, without having recourse to foreign radio stations. I wish my colleagues, the Bulgarian journalists in Bulgaria, that they may work to achieve this goal as soon as possible.

## Varna BZNS Organization Bureau Resigns

*AU1101215290 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 10 Jan 90 p 2*

[Text] Varna, 9 January (Local correspondent's report)—As an expression of the unmistakable awareness and the great wish for a unified Agrarian Union that should be initiated as of today, the Varna Municipal Bulgarian National Agarian Union [BZNS] organization at yesterday's plenary session accepted the collective resignation of the Bureau of the Varna Municipal BZNS organization. An eight-member working group in charge of preparing a BZNS Municipal Conference, scheduled to take place on 3 February 1990 in Varna, was elected. In adopting this decision, the participants in the plenum created all opportunities for a radical renewal and unification of the ranks of united agrarians in the Varna Municipality.

## Premises for Electing Congress Delegates

*AU1101181390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jan 90 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Premises for Electing Delegates to the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress and Leading Party Organs, Adopted by the BCP Central Committee Politburo on 4 January 1990"]

[Text] 1. All primary, enterprise, office, higher educational establishment, township, village, and city party organizations may propose candidates to the party congress.

Organizations that have more than 300 members elect delegates directly at their meetings (conferences), according to the establishment representation quota. The other organizations (with less than 300 members), address proposals to the municipal conferences (general meetings), where the election of delegates will take place. Communists and members of other party organizations may also be proposed as delegates.

To afford the Communists from the spheres of science, education, and culture the possibility of appropriate representation, party organizations in those spheres may be united in general meetings for the purpose of electing delegates (providing that the total number of the Communists is more than 300). In such cases, the municipal committees of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] must be informed by the accountability-election conferences (general meetings) of the BCP municipal organizations.

BCP organizations in the Armed Forces elect delegates to the congress at division accountability-election meetings (conferences).

The names of more candidates than the number of delegates allocated to a particular organization should be included in the secret vote list in order to ensure the observance of the principle of alternatives and competition.

All possible and expedient forms of preliminary consultations with the Communists and non-party members are to be utilized in proposing and discussing candidates for delegates to the congress.

At the meetings and conferences, the candidate-delegates should be afforded the opportunity to present their platforms, visions, and ideas, which they will defend at the congress on behalf of the Communists that have elected them.

2. The election of leading party organs should take place at general accountability-election meetings of the Communists of the primary, enterprise, office, higher educational establishment, village, township, city, and municipal party organizations. Party organizations with numerous members, which cannot conduct general meetings with all Communists, should conduct conferences. The decision on holding a conference instead of a general meeting, the representation quota, and the manner of electing candidates must be approved by the appropriate BCP committee after consultations with the Communists.

3. The Communists (delegates) elect through open voting and by simple majority a bureau that will chair the accountability-election meetings and conferences. In addition, auxiliary organs, such as a commission on verifying the prerogatives of the delegates (mandate commission) and a commission on preparing the draft resolution, may also be elected. Commission or delegate forums for preparing proposals on new party organs may also be elected at the meetings and conferences of the enterprise, office, higher educational establishment, village, city, and municipal party organizations.

The accountability-election meetings of the primary may authorize some of the delegates to the conference to participate in the commissions on preparing proposals on the composition of the leading organs of the enterprise, office, higher educational establishments, village, city, and municipal party organizations, and on delegates to the congress. The work of the commissions must be chaired by a chairman, who should not be the secretary of the relevant committee, or a member of its apparatus.

4. The chairman of the meeting (conference) should acquaint the Communists (delegates) with the premises on conducting elections, after which the proposal and discussion of candidates may begin.

5. The meeting (conference) adopts by an open vote and simple majority the number of members of the leading organs that will be elected. This should take place before the discussion of the candidate draft list. The list must include more candidates than the envisioned number of the organ members, to create conditions of alternatives and competition. Communists, who are not members of the relevant party organization, but who could assist those organizations with their experience and training, may also be proposed as candidates. The candidates for the leading organ must not necessarily be delegates and attend the relevant conference or meeting.

6. After announcing the candidates at the meetings (conference), they must be discussed separately. New candidates may be proposed, candidacies may be struck off the list, and participants may propose themselves as candidates.

The proposals for new members, made during the discussion, should be included in the draft membership of the organs, without voting on them. Every proposal for adding to or striking off a name from the draft list may be considered as adopted if after an open vote more than half of the attending party members or delegates have voted for it.

The meeting or conference may assess and decide by an open vote when the discussion of the candidates should stop.

After concluding the discussion of the proposals, a list of candidates is prepared for the election according to an alphabetical order.

7. The election of all party organs (committees, control-auditing and auditing commissions, and bureaus), and secretaries, deputy secretaries, chairmen, and deputy chairmen of the auditing and control-auditing commissions, must be done by a secret vote.

Candidates for membership in the higher party organ (municipal or central committee) may be proposed at the meetings and conferences of the relevant organizations. Those candidacies must be approved by a secret vote.

8. The party meeting or conference elects by an open vote a commission that must ensure the organizational-technical conduct of the election of the party committee, control-auditing and auditing commission, and delegates, as well as report the result of the voting. Wherever necessary, the meeting or conference also elects appropriate election bureaus.

Before beginning the voting, the commission ensures the necessary conditions for its normal conduct—a special place for the voting, election boxes, (which it has to seal), and a list of the attending party members and delegates.

The chairman of the commission clarifies the manner of voting.

9. Regardless of the preliminary discussion and specifying the membership of the party organs and the delegates, every member of the party organization or delegate to the conference has the right to cross out names of proposed candidates by voting for the same number of candidates as the number of members of the relevant organ. The same applies to electing delegates to the congress. Ballots in which this requirement has not been observed will be considered invalid.

Candidates who have received the highest number of votes, but no less than the votes of 50 percent plus one of the participants in the meeting or conference, are considered as elected. If the necessary number of candidates do not receive a simple majority, additional elections are conducted for the available delegate positions.

The votes must be counted in an open and free atmosphere. The commission prepares a protocol, in which the votes received by each candidate are registered separately. The protocol should be signed by all members of the commission, and is considered to be a part of the protocol of the meeting or conference. The documents related to the voting must be preserved in the party organizations and local party organs until the next accountability-election meeting (conference), after which they may be destroyed on the basis of a decision.

The commission on conducting the elections reports to the meeting or conference the result of the voting and announces the names of the candidates who have been elected delegates or members of the respective organ.

10. The general meetings (conferences) of the primary, enterprise, office, higher educational establishment, and other similar party organizations determine the manner of electing the secretaries and deputy secretaries—directly at the meetings and conferences, or at meetings of the respective bureaus and committees. The decision should be adopted by open vote and with simple majority.

The election itself is conducted by a secret vote and decided between 2 or more candidates.

11. The members of the bureaus and secretaries of the village, city, township, and municipal party committees, and chairmen, deputy chairmen, and members of the bureaus of the control-auditing (auditing) commissions, are elected at a meeting of the respective committee or commission. In all cases there must be more candidates than the approved number of members of the relevant organ.

12. The BCP Oblast Committees should assist in better preparing the accountability-election meetings and conferences, and collaborate in the democratic conduct of the election of congress delegates and leading party organs, without allowing interference or seizing the functions of the party organizations.

## Depolitization of Interior Ministry Viewed

*AU1101185690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jan 90 p 3*

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Krustan Vladimirov, "from the People's Militia Directorate": "Depolitization of the Organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs?"]

[Excerpts] The further development of the country along the road of democracy imposes the need to seriously think about the place and role of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the future administration.

It is well known that instead of defending the legal rights and interests of the citizens, the constitutional freedoms and legal order, those organs were sometimes used in the recent and more distant past by the first party leaders for compromising and removing by force political opponents and rivals. The facts in this context are very sad. [passage omitted]

For dozens of years, we have been persuaded through political and official means, that we are the "armed unit" of the party, its "fist," and so forth. Practically, for many years the ministry was led by a minister who never reported to the National Assembly or the Council of Ministers, but was directly responsible to the general secretary. However, this in only one aspect of the problem. The other aspect is much more essential. Deformations appeared in many of us, and it will be impossible to overcome them even after several years. The sense of everything being permitted, blind obedience to orders, and slighting state institutions is widespread in our ranks. Legal bias and judicial nihilism are not alien to us.

It appears that such employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs were not needed so much by the party and the state, as by Todor Zhivkov and his circle for the purpose of strengthening the authoritarian power. Therefore, throughout those years, we were told much more about the political role we must fulfill, rather than about how precisely to apply the law. Through us Dimitur Stoyanov used to demonstrate his loyalty to Todor Zhivkov. Commanders of all ranks used to copy this practice.

I think that Comrade Petur Mladenov's report indicates the right direction for restructuring the organs of the

Ministry of Internal Affairs. However, the roads of achieving those well-defined goals have not been outlined with sufficient clarity. The report reads: "The organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs must be freed of many inappropriate functions...." This laconic recommendation can hardly be used by the employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs as precise guidance of finding their place and role in the future civic society.

It is necessary for the party, the Central Committee, the Secretariat, and the Politburo to seriously reassess their attitude toward the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Obviously, under conditions of pluralism, a multiparty system, democracy, and the striving of the party to eliminate past mistakes, it is necessary to create a new mechanism of party leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Following this line of thought, I do not think that the Department of National and Social Security of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] in its present form and with its present functions can be the most appropriate BCP organ for conducting party policy in the legal defense and justice institutions. It is no secret that this department is directly responsible for certain deformations in the activity of the courts, Chief Prosecutor's Office, and the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. is this party organ necessary at all? [passage omitted]

There is no sensible alternative other than the depolitization of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the other legal institutions. This does not mean that Communists should not work. The employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs should be members of the municipal party organizations. This would facilitate the strengthening of those party units and turning them into a real political force at the living places. On the other hand, this will fundamentally change the psychological attitude of the Communists—employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They will be closer to the people, will live with their difficulties, will be under the real control of the people, and the dilemma of to whom they should be loyal, will be eliminated. [passage omitted]

### Commentary on Soviet Troop Withdrawal Talks

*LD2601061290 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] The second round of talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, now under preparation, is discussed in the following comment by Milan Suchanek.

The Soviet Union agrees in principle with a complete withdrawal of its troops from Czechoslovakia. This is the main result of the first round of bilateral talks. What remains to be decided is the time schedule for the withdrawal. This should be solved at the second round of talks which will be held in Moscow later in January.

Thus the agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia might be reached even before Czechoslovakia's President Vaclav Havel visits Moscow in February.

The Czechoslovak Government demands a substantial reduction in the number of Soviet troops deployed here by June when free elections will be held. And by the end of this year we want them all withdrawn. According to the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, Soviet diplomats think that too fast, especially in view of the Vienna talks on conventional arsenals, while maintaining the military balance.

Following the Warsaw Treaty's invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and the deployment of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory, the United States strengthened their military presence especially in West Germany. This might be the main reason why Moscow is in no hurry to withdraw its troops. They might prefer a multilateral solution via the Vienna talks on conventional disarmament.

But the hope that a Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement will be worked out in the near future is real. It is in the interest of both Czechoslovaia and the whole of Europe.

### Havel, Calfa Receive SFRY's Loncar

*AU2201113490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Jan 90 p 1*

[CTK report: "On a Successful Tradition"]

[Text] Prague—CSSR President Vaclav Havel received Budimir Loncar, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs, in Prague Castle yesterday.

Budimir Loncar conveyed greetings to him from the Yugoslav people, from many Yugoslav admirers and readers, and, in particular, from members of Atelier 212 [Belgrade theater company], which has performed Vaclav Havel's plays. He also delivered an invitation from the Yugoslav president to the CSSR president to visit the SFRY in the near future. He expressed his support for the further expansion of CSSR-SFRY relations. Vaclav Havel accepted the invitation. He recalled the close prewar relations between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and expressed his hope that it will be possible to follow up on this tradition. Later, both representatives spoke about their ideas for a united Europe devoid of military pacts. Jiri Dienstbier, CSSR foreign minister, participated in the reception.

Marian Calfa also received Budimir Loncar in Prague yesterday. They briefed each other in detail on the aims and course of economic reforms in the CSSR and the SFRY. They expressed further interest in intensifying, improving efficiency, and enhancing economic cooperation. They stated that Czechoslovak-Yugoslav collaboration in economic spheres has many untapped resources, especially as regards direct ties between manufacturing organizations, and so on, is concerned. Marian Calfa and Budimir Loncar also spoke about possibilities for further developing tourism in the future as well as the greater exchange of information on science and technology. Pavel Sadovsky, CSSR first deputy foreign minister, participated in the reception. Stanislav Stojanovic, SFRY ambassador to the CSSR, was also present.

Budimir Loncar, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs, ended his official friendly visit to the CSSR yesterday.

### Italian Foreign Minister Pays Working Visit

#### Arrives in Prague

*LD2401094190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[Text] Italian Foreign Minister Gianna de Michelis arrived in Prague last night for a working visit to Czechoslovakia. He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Jiri Dienstbier, our minister of foreign affairs.

#### Begins Talks With Dienstbier

*LD2401111890 Prague CTK in English 1058 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[Text] Prague Jan 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovak and Italian Foreign Ministers Jiri Dienstbier and Gianni de Michelis started their talks here this morning.

The two representatives discuss the deepening of bilateral cooperation, especially in the political and cultural spheres, and questions connected with visas. They also exchange opinions on the situation in Europe, above all on the European integration process.

#### Meets With Journalists

*LD2401160490 Prague CTK in English 1326 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[Text] Prague Jan 24 (CTK)—After their talks here this morning Czechoslovak and Italian foreign ministers Jiri Dienstbier and Gianni de Michelis met with Czechoslovak and foreign journalists.

Bilateral relations and contacts in the framework of the all-European community will be intensified, the Italian

foreign minister stressed, adding that it was agreed during the discussions to convene a session of a mixed Czechoslovak-Italian commission in Rome in May.

He spoke about the protection of Italy's investments in Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak in Italy, and said that joint ventures will be created. New agreements will be signed in the sphere of humanitarian relations, e.g. a special agreement on the removal of visas, exchange of scholarship holders, and on the creation of a Czechoslovak cultural centre in Rome and further development of the Italian cultural centre in Czechoslovakia, the Italian minister said.

### Briefs Press on Talks

*LD2401153690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier and Gianni de Michelis, foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia and Italy, respectively, briefed journalists today on their talks in Prague.

The Italian minister said that they agreed to convene a session of a mixed Czechoslovak-Italian commission in May in Rome to discuss a number of agreements amending relations between the two countries. Removal of all trade barriers, and support for Italian investment in Czechoslovakia, including the setting up of joint enterprises, are envisaged.

According to Gianni de Michelis, a special agreement should also be concluded on abolishing visas, exchanges of scholarship holders, and on establishing a Czechoslovak cultural center in Rome. He also conveyed the interest of Italy, Yugoslavia, Austria, and Hungary in Czechoslovakia joining the four-sided organizational treaty on cooperation.

Minister Jiri Dienstbier described as "very specific" the talks with his Italian counterpart. He thanked him for the offers which he brought to Czechoslovakia and expressed the conviction that a new era of Czechoslovak-Italian cooperation has begun.

Jiri Dienstbier gave a luncheon in honor of Gianni de Michelis in the Cernin Palace.

### Received by Tomasek, Dubcek

*LD2401202290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier and Gianni de Michelis, ministers of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia and Italy, respectively, today in Prague held talks on the development of bilateral relations of both countries and contacts within the framework of the all-European community.

Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek, archbishop of Prague and Czech Primate, met with the Italian minister in his Prague seat on Hradcany Square.

The Italian guest was also received today by Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly. He said that at a time when Czechoslovakia is looking for and finding its place in Europe we have great interest in extending all round cooperation with Italy, and that experiences from the activity of its parliament can be very educational for us.

Gianni de Michelis assured Alexander Dubcek that the Italian Government will give a positive reply to suggestions for the development of cooperation, and he said that the feelings of friendship between the people of both countries were not interrupted by the past years.

### Meets With Havel

*LD2401213190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, received at Prague Castle today Gianni de Michelis, Italian minister of foreign affairs. The minister stressed the importance Italy attaches to the true extension of contacts, not only in bilateral relations but also between Czechoslovakia and Europe, and between Czechoslovakia and the new initiative, calling zone of cooperation in the Adriatic and along the Danube. He said that his country will try to help us catch up with the time lost in the past 20 years.

President Vaclav Havel welcomed the idea of a zone of cooperation which will facilitate the return of East and mid-European countries to Europe. He also welcomed the talks on visa-free travel, attended so far by Italy, Yugoslavia, Huungary, and Austria.

Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis ended his visit to Czechoslovakia in the evening and departed by air for Vienna.

### Meets Calfa, Issues Communique

*LD2401213490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[Text] The Italian guest has been received by Premier Marian Calfa. An extensive discussion developed during the meeting on the idea of a Common European Home and on the development of cultural cooperation, first and foremost in the sphere of information exchange.

A communique on the visit of Minister de Michelis was also published. It notes, among other things, that Italy and Czechoslovakia will, inter alia, conclude an agreement on simplifying visa procedures and on abolishing certain kinds of visas. It also notes that Premier Marian Calfa accepted an invitation to visit Italy soon.

Gianni de Michelis ended his visit to Czechoslovakia in the evening and departed by air for Vienna.

### CTK Report

*LD2401223190 Prgue CTK in English 2126 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[Text] Prague Jan 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa and Italian Foreign Minister Gianni

de Michelis discussed here today the idea of a Common European Home in which Czechoslovakia sees an instrument for overcoming the division of Europe.

They pointed out the need of speeding up the development of cultural cooperation, mainly in the sphere of the exchange of information.

At the meeting with journalists tonight, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said that the fact that he and his Italian counterpart agreed on all questions shows that the era of the division of Europe into blocs is over.

He expressed the hope that Czechoslovakia will soon join the Alpine-Adriatic Regional Grouping (Austria, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary), which would make it possible to tackle a number of concrete problems of this area. It is necessary to construct a united Europe not by statements but concrete cooperation. Such regional cooperation will not prevent any of its participants from developing relations with other states. Czechoslovakia's aim is to create a united Europe not pacts, Jiri Dienstbier stressed.

Gianni de Michelis voiced the conviction that the visit has opened scope for mutually advantageous cooperation. He positively evaluated his meetings with the highest Czechoslovak representatives.

During his meeting with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, Gianni de Michelis expressed solidarity with the Italian president, the government and all Italian people, he said.

According to a communique on the Italian minister's visit, the two sides agreed to sign the following agreements as soon as possible:

1. An agreement on simplifying visa practice and the cancellation of several kinds of visas.

2. An agreement on cooperation in culture and education which includes also questions of scholarships, teaching of languages, the creation of cultural and information centres in Rome and Prague.

3. An agreement on support for investments and their protection.

4. Modernization of an agreement on scientific-technological cooperation.

5. An agreement on the establishment of Czechoslovak consulates in Italy and Italian consultates in Czechoslovakia.

In the economic sphere, the Italian side is ready to positively evaluate inter-governmental credits, as well as credit insurance of projects of primary importance.

The two sides pointed to the possibilities of bilateral cooperation in the industry, technologies, ecology, and the training of experts.

Italy is willing to extend to Czechoslovakia concessions which were granted by the EEC to Poland and Hungary and is ready to cancel special volume quotas in foreign trade with the exception of special articles in textile and steel.

The Italian minister conveyed to Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa an invitation to visit Italy in the nearest future. The invitation was accepted.

Later on Gianni de Michelis left for Vienna.

### Pope To Visit Czechoslovakia in Apr

*LD2501235190 Prague CTK in English 2048 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Prague, Jan 25 (CTK)—Pope John Paul II will visit Czechoslovakia in the third week of April this year at the invitation of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel conveyed to him by a Czechoslovak Government delegation in the Vatican, Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Josef Hromadka said at a press conference on today's government session here.

During his stay in Czechoslovakia, John Paul II is to visit Prague, Velehrad (south Moravia) and Bratislava. It will be the first visit of the head of the Catholic Church on Czechoslovak territory, he said.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier will meet with West German Foreign Minister and Vice-Chancellor Hans-Dietrich Genscher early February, it was announced at the press conference.

### Havel Advocates 'Closest Ties' With Austria

*AU2501135390 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 25 Jan 90 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Havel to Waldheim"]

[Text] In a letter to President Kurt Waldheim, CSSR President Vaclav Havel has advocated "closest ties" between the CSSR and Austria, and reiterated the desire for further consolidating the traditional friendship between the two peoples.

### Komarek Interviewed on Talks in Austria

*AU2201180590*

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 19 January on page 15 carries an 800-word interview with Valtr Komarek, first CSSR deputy premier, by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Vladimir Vacha and CTK entitled "There Are No Obstacles." The interview was conducted at the Dolni Dvoriste border crossing on 17 January, upon Komarek's return from a two day visit to Austria, and deals with the first deputy premier's talks in Vienna and Linz.

Komarek says that Austria has been seeking closer economic, cultural, and political relations with Czechoslovakia for years but that it is only now that Czechoslovakia has removed all obstacles to Austria's advances. Asked about the outcome of his talks in Austria, Komarek notes that Austria showed particular interest in the development of tourism and concomitant projects, such as the modernization of railroad links and transport acceleration, the establishment of a common natural park, and the creation of a duty-free zone along the border. Komarek reportedly also reached an agreement with Austrian minister Streicher on establishing a "joint engineering enterprise" that would advise Czechoslovakia on the modernization of its metallurgical industry and cooperate with Czechoslovakia in the export of its metallurgical products. The Austrian side is also said to have offered its help in the training of Czechoslovak managers. Speaking about economic cooperation, Komarek stresses that Czechoslovakia does not want to ask for Austrian credits, but that it is interested in cooperation between enterprises and in joint ventures in order to gain access to top technologies.

Asked whether environmental issues were discussed during his visit, Komarek says that the Austrian public is greatly concerned about the Temelin nuclear power station and that "an optimal solution will have to be found to convincingly dispel these fears."

### Dubcek Receives FRG Politicians 25 Jan

*LD2501234290 Prague CTK in English 2055 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Prague, Jan 25 (CTK)—A delegation of the parliamentary group of the West German Green Party (Die Gruenen), currently on its first official visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Civic Forum, was received by Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek here today.

The delegation includes presidium spokeswoman for the Greens parliamentary group in the Bundestag Waltraud Schope, Deputy Helmut Lippelt and adviser to the Green Party for Eastern Europe Milan Horacek.

The two sides agreed on the fact that sound environment, disarmament and peaceful life are the key issues which have and will have an ever increasing significance for life of all mankind. It is necessary to solve them quickly also in the framework of international cooperation, Alexander Dubcek stated.

Czechoslovak Federal Asembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek received secretary of the Schleswig-Holstein SPD [Social Democratic Party] Werner Kindmuller here today.

### Talks on Commercial Cooperation With EC

*AU2501174190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jan 90 p 15*

[Unattributed CTK report from the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] A Czechoslovak delegation headed by J. Nemec, CSSR deputy minister for foreign trade, held talks in Brussels on Tuesday [23 January] with an EC commission delegation about a new agreement on commercial and economic cooperation between the European Community and Czechoslovakia.

### PRC Envoy Objects to Dalai Lama's Visit

*AU2501132990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jan 90 p 1*

[Unattributed CTK report: "Apropos the Dalai Lama's Visit"]

[Text] Prague—As we have already reported, the Dalai Lama—holder of the Nobel Peace Prize—will visit Czechoslovakia on 2-6 February at the invitation of Vaclav Havel, CSSR president.

In connection with this visit, on Tuesday [23 January] Wang Xingda, PRC ambassador to the CSSR, visited the CSSR president at his invitation. The president used this opportunity to inform him of the intent of the Dalai Lama's private visit to Czechoslovakia.

The PRC ambassador informed the president of his government's point of view that the Dalai Lama is an emigrant who is conducting political activity against the PRC's territorial integrity. The Chinese Government is opposed to the government of any country with which it has diplomatic ties enabling the Dalai Lama to carry out political activity against the PRC. The president assured the ambassador that Czechoslovakia is interested in intensifying friendly ties with the PRC.

### Radio Reports Protest

*LD2501122190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 25 jan 90*

[Text] China has conveyed to the Czechoslovak Embassy in Beijing a sharp protest against the planned visit of the Dalai Lama in Prague. This message was conveyed today by a spokesman of the PRC Ministry of foreign Affairs. In a prepared statement he called the Tibetan spiritual leader an exile who has for a long time been carrying out activities in a bid to split China. He called the invitation "Gross interference in the affairs of his country" and asked Czechoslovakia to review the entire matter carefully and to cancel the invitation to the Dalai Lama.

### Economic Losses Sustained in Providing Aid

*AU2601085290 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 24 Jan 90 p 4*

["(LJ)"-signed report: "How It Was With Aid"]

[Text] Recently, MLADA FRONTA wrote that Cuba will tighten its belt. It is necessary to add to this article—which reported on Soviet aid to Cuba, for example, the purchase of Cuban sugar above world prices—that even our republic did not lag behind in providing such aid. According to a resolution of the former CSSR Government Presidium, and possibly on other instructions, so-called international assistance was given to various countries by exporting materials which we ourselves had in short supply or which were expensive to manufacture in Czechoslovakia. We exported iron ingots to Cuba and we bought sugar from Cuba at a price at least 30 percent higher than world prices; we then re-exported this sugar at a lower price and at great loss. Our republic not only provided such aid to Cuba but also to Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Syria, Ethiopia, and Vietnam. The situation in squandering our national income even went so far that we provided Nicaragua with hard currency resources to purchase Soviet oil. We paid in dollars for the transportation of Vietnamese workers to the CSSR in Soviet ships and so on. This aid involved donations of goods and construction capacities, which amounted to billions of korunas, as well as loans and credits which will never be repaid to us.

### Calfa Interviewed on First 40 Days

*LD2101001990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1805 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Interview with Prime Minister Marian Calfa by Karel Stary, director general of Czechoslovak Radio; Jindrich Fairaizl, director general of Czechoslovak Television; and Ales Benda, director general of Czechoslovak press agency; moderated by Government Press Spokesman Zbynek Fiala; on 19 January; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Fiala, in Czech] Forty days are behind the government of national accord and we all certainly hope this accord continues. This, of course, is not the task of the government alone. Journalists are here to ensure that the government understands what people need and that people learn what the government is doing for them. This is how the idea arose to invite to this reception room of Marian Calfa, the prime minister, three directors general of the main media. Our invitation was accepted by Jindrich Fairaizl, director of Czechoslovak television; Karel Stary, director of Czechoslovak radio; and Ales Benda, director of the Czechoslovak press agency. In order to ensure that this informal interview gets smoothly under way I myself am going to ask the first question.

Those past 40 days can still be easily reviewed one after another for they are completely specific. Which of them was the most difficult, Prime Minister?

[Calfa] Looking back, I would assess as the most difficult day, in that 40-day history of our government of national accord, 23 December, which was the day when we all learned about the tragic events that were taking place in friendly Romania and when the federal government met at midnight in order to discuss the most important steps we should take with regard to the organization of aid, the supplies of medicine and food, and with regard, in general, to forming a new attitude to the events that were taking place in Romania.

[Unidentified speaker in Czech] I would like, as the first one to go back home, to ask about the economy. And, if you allow me to ask, what do you regard as the most important thing decided by the government, what steps do you regard as the main ones for the creation of a new economic system in Czechoslovakia—a market economy, as we learned from the government's statement—and, mainly, what measures are you preparing in this area?

[Calfa] This is a very broad question and one could say a great deal about it. I would briefly characterize this in this way: The most important thing the government has done was in fact its policy statement because its preparation in effect meant the clarification of what the government will be doing in the economic, as well as other areas. In doing so, the government naturally proceeded from an assessment of what was already prepared and which steps were needed to adjust and modify the existing economic reform and its individual principles to ensure that what we had in mind would gradually be put into practice from the new year, and that serious dislocations would not occur. One also needs to realize one more thing, and that is that the federal government is in fact composed of a totally new team of economists who have a clear and different idea from the existing notion on the course of economic reform. That is the team of economists among whom we number Komarek, first vice-premier; Klaus, minister of finance; Dlouhy, chairman of the State Planning Commission and vice-premier; and Barcak, minister of foreign trade. This was the first step as far as the economy was concerned.

The second step the government took was at the beginning of this year. It was a certain adjustment in the relation between korunas and dollars and between korunas and rubles, that is, in the exchange rate field when devaluation occured in one area while revaluation occured in the other. These were naturally small steps. It was, however, a certain start. In February we will adopt larger and more (?fundamental) measures in the economic area, with the basic motto to free enterprise, adopt measures which will curb and in the second stage destroy monopoly of production in Czechoslovakia, and thirdly to adopt measures which will attract foreign capital to Czechoslovakia and that will provide certain guarantees to foreign businessmen to invest their capital in Czechoslovakia. This involves an enormous range of measures in various areas, including, undoubtedly, the modification of legal norms.

[Unidentifed speaker in Czech] I would like to stick to the last thing you just said because truly large numbers of people are coming to Czechoslovakia, including media people, various proprieters of newspapers, and representatives of state radios, televisions, and press agencies, asking whether they can buy something, whether they

can buy shares here or will they be able to do so. Could you explain to us the government's thinking on these matters?

[Calfa] Of course the use of such instruments is envisioned. When we declared that this economy is an open one and when we proceed from the premise that this economy is so small that it cannot be raised to a qualitatively different level using the country's own resources, then there is really no other option than to open it up to the world and ensure that the world can come to Czechoslovakia and that Czechoslovakia can go to the world.

To bring this about it is necessary to create in essense the same conditions as applied in world trade. This means that we have to ensure that capital is able to flow freely to Czechoslovakia. We must ensure that there exist in Czechoslovakia such tax conditions for businesses as prevail everywhere else in the world. We must ensure that there is a genuinely free opportunity for enterprise. We must ensure that profit from such ventures can be transferred abroad in a convertible currency, and finally we must abolish certain restrictions in the foreign trade sector to ensure that such a movement is truly free and that it takes at the level of organizations without state interference, without needing various permissions, without administrative and bureacratic shackles that have been part of it up to now.

[Fairaizl in Czech] Prime Minister, this all sounds very sympathetic and attractive. In television such a strong attack by foreign companies has already started in various forms. The greatest risk lies in my view in that, at the legislative level, Czechoslovak television is not protected well and since the law on Czechoslovak television has not yet been discussed the entire integration of television in the state structure has not yet been clarified. In this sense I think this development ought to be speeded up somewhat.

[Calfa] Czechoslovak television is a centrally directed organization in accordance with the existing legal regulations. We have certain difficulties there that arise from the constitutional arrangement of these matters. The prerequisite to enable us to successfully tackle the question of television, and there are various views on this matter, is to change the relevant section of our Constitution since our 1968 constitution failed to resolve at the federal level the entire media sector. This matter has remained unresolved. It is our great debt. We know of it and work is going on to rectify the matter.

[Fairaizl] This more precise defining of the position has a significance not only regarding the world but I am afraid that namely now also regarding the situation in the forthcoming weeks—the period before the elections, the time of increasing attacks also carried out by the structures within the country, the time when groups politically motivatd by various interests attack asking for braodcast time. There is a serious danger that under the pressure of these tendencies television will in the end be changed to a sort of Hyde Park where all who come will have their say motivated by equally democratic principles. I think it is also high time to make the regulations clear.

[Calfa] You know, director, I am glad to hear it, but let us not overestimate the rule of law. You are director general of Czechoslovak television and you will have you share of responsibility for organizing internal affairs of television. Therefore, I personally think that there will be a need to tackle the issue of these interests with the help of television on a wide democratic base, and laws can only provide the framework for this democratic course of action.

[Fairaizl] Thank you very much for this formulation.

[Benda in Czech] I would like to ask you if I could also speak about CTK, I would like to ask two things. First, the government certainly thought about certain social security for our citizens. People speak a lot about how this security will be secured in our revolutionary times. Did you discuss this issue and what conclusions did you reach? Second, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier is currently abroad; extensive trips by the president are being planned and also by you and the minister. At the same time significant visits to Czechoslovakia are being prepared, according to my information. What were the manifestations of our government's activities in the field of foreign policy during the last 40 days?

[Calfa] I would begin with the first question about social security. Our program statement includes certain principles concerning this sphere. We have inherited—and there is a need to see it very objectively—our economy in a certain state. Our economy has been developing in a certain way for 41 years. We all know how it was developing, there was a supremacy of basic manufacturing industries, supremacy of metallurgy, heavy engineering industry, engineering industry. There was essentially an absolute dependency on importing energy and raw materials from the Soviet Union and on exporting our engineering industry products to the markets of the CEMA member states, I would say to an overwhelming degree.

If we would like to change this basic picture—which can be illustrated by further information on how this state came about—then this must understandably involve structures, modernization, attenuation of some industries and activation of other industries. Very much is being said about attenuation but much less is being said about activation and development of industries, and I am very much troubled by that. This course of action will bring with it movement of the work force.

Nevertheless, we think that this movement of the work force, given the scale of Czechsolovakia, should mean neither unemployment nor undermining social security, though understandably in the local minor scale it is not possible to exclude the need for some transfers, requalification, etc. In this context, we even adopted a legal regulation with effect from January 1990. This means

that our basic idea is to intervene in our economy, intervene radically, intervene from the very foundations.

Premier Mazowiecki said that he would not be improving the economy because instead there is a need to reconstruct it from its very foundations. The same tenet essentialy applies in our case. This is on one side and on the other side we would like to ensure that this process has as little impact on our citizens as possible, that it has the least possible impact on those who are weakest, simply on our population, those in need of social security.

As far as the second question is concerned, naturally the events in Czechoslovakia have provoked enormous interest in the world about what is going on in our country. This has been manifested by the immense number of visits at all possible levels. This has been manifested by invitations from abroad to leading Czechoslovak officials. There have been so many of them, both visits and invitations, that we have difficulties in accomodating them all in terms of time. We would like, nonetheless, to capture this interest and this is why certain trips have been planned. Trips abroad by the president to both german states, during which I accompanied him, took place. We attended the recent CEMA meeting. The trip to Czechoslovakia by the Polish premier is being planned, and so is my trip to Austria at the end of this month. This program is really very full. Further trips are planned for February, March, and April. The common feature of all these trips is the sincere endeavor to help Czechoslovakia. This is why we are receiving questions asking us to define the forms and possibilities of such help, and it is the task of our government to answer such questions, to create conditions which will enable us to answer these questions, to make sure that our economic sector turns its face to our foreign partners and succeeds in communicating with them, and to ensure that this interest is used for the benefit of our economy. This is why, naturally, our foreign minister is undertaking trips and will continue to make trips abroad, and this is why individual members of the government are currently undertaking such trips. I believe that this is a logical process and that it will probably continue in the future because what else is linking us other than the fact that we simply explain to each other our views, our ideas, coupled with the fact that we are in normal working contact and we are not turning these visits into grand state affairs with all the ceremonies. We, therefore, want to conduct ourselves sensibly in this field.

[Unidentified speaker in Czech] Despite this, allow me to complement this question. A number of untraditional diplomatic measures is being prepared, for instance, the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel. What will, in effect, be the orientation of the Czechoslovak foreign policy?

[Calfa] I do not know what is untraditional in establishing relations with a normal state in the world. I would rather say that our country's behavior up to now was untraditional in that we did not establish such relations. Our foreign orientation was contained both in the government's policy statement and in several speeches made by the president of the republic and the foreign minister, as well as in my own speeches. The really great idea is to have friendly relations with all states of the world, friendly relations with all states in Europe. We desire the liquidation of blocs, artificial barriers and walls, as the president of the republic said. We hope that a good, friendly, and cordial climate is created in these international relations. I believe that this process is continuing, that we are witnessing it and we all wish that it continues without obstacles.

[Unidentified speaker] Do you have some idea by now about Czechoslovakia's involvement in European integration, in the future unification of Europe?

[Calfa] We sent a letter to the president of the European Community in the first few days of our government, asking for a certain form of affiliation. That is, we expressed interest in cooperation with the European Community. Naturally the European Community has developed in a certain way up to now, and it developed in a different way toward Czechoslovakia and its colleagues, or its costates within the framework of CEMA. That is bringing together these states which were developing on a different basis, mainly on a different economic and also political basis, demands time. It will take some time because it is necessary to create the appropriate conditions, particularly in Czechoslovakia. It is also necessary for the European Community to understand the situation in Czechoslovakia to a certin extent, to come to meet it. As far as our information goes, there is good will on all sides and we expect positive, truly positive steps in this area in the very near future in the next few months.

[Unidentified speaker] I would pick up on this good will, Mr. Premier, I think that this good will should manifest itself to the maximum extent where real action in solving the ecological situation is concerned. Is it possible to expect the speeding up of acts in this direction?.

[Calfa] Well, the ecological situation in Czechoslovakia is a chapter in itself. We inherited it and we said to ourselves in the government that there are two basic starting conditions in the ecology area which must be accomplished in the shortest possible time, and we will devote great effort to it. The first thing is to make the food healthy, right along the chain beginning with the functioning of our agriculture, the use of pesticides, chemicals, through the processing capacity, through the possibilities of treatment of foods, we have a lot to make up for here; and the second evident area is that we must clean up the air in Czechoslovakia. We are all very well aware of what the air is like in some areas of the Republic, what the situation is in Prague, what the situation is in North Bohemia, Central Slovakia, and other large conglomerations. The problem here is how to solve the functioning of the whole of our power station and heating station system, how to solve the problem of

heating small workplaces and homes. Up to now, we have gone along the path of building nuclear power stations. We have certain differing views to those of Austria on how the construction of Temelin should proceed. These were things which were discussed during the visit of Minister Flemming. We agreed to create another commission which will investigate the possibilities of construction. But we said quite clearly that we will construct the first two blocks in Temelin. But one thing must be clearly said: If we build the first two blocks of Temelin which will have an output of more than 2,000 megawatts, this will not be an addition to electrical energy but the government is prepared to reduce the output of the thermal power stations in North Bohemia by 2,000 megawatts and all the growth that is required must be found from the savings in industrial production. This is the basic point of departure that we want to tell our people, and we will have to keep to it no matter what, otherwise we cannot succeed in these things.

The second issue is hydroenergy. There were certain contrary views on the construction of Gabcikovo. I reached an agreement with Hungarian Premier Nemeth during the visit at the CEMA session in Sofia that we will meet and that we will solve this question in some way. We are prpared, if we are able to build the Gabcikovo power station and if it produces power, there is something over 700 megawatts of energy, and if we succeed in starting it up, then we are prepared to limit the production of the thermal power stations on the upper part of the Nitra River where we have truly large problems. We are particularly concerned about the Novaky District. We must understand, on the one hand we need investment in order to have ecological clean sources, but at the same time, we are prepared to immediately shut down the ecologically unclean sources, this is a completely new philosophy than that being used up until now, because until now, output was always added and all other sources continued working at full output. Well, in my view, we have finished with this, and we must finish with it.

[unidentified speaker in Czech] You have mentioned food, the purity of foodstuffs, purity of air, what remains is water where certain measure are being prepared.

[Calfa] The question of water purity has been on the agenda for some time now. We started ecology through the purity of waters. I would say that this is not a correct approach because although water is a vitally important matter, we have been devoting a great deal of attention to it but have been neglecting other areas. Nonetheless, we shall continue to devote ourselves fully to waters where the program is already under way. The program of building purificaiton plants is under way and this will continue in its own way. It is necessary to approach ecology in a comprehensive manner but ecology itself has its own priorities.

[Unidentified speaker in Czech] I would like to continue with water where the attention was certainly concentrated in the course of a decade, but I am not sure whether that attention was effective enough to resolve the matter. I am rather talking about the quality of that attention.

[Calfa] You know that a special situation has been created in Czechoslovakia in which no one is responsible for anything and in which the government is responsible for everything. I would like to say in this connection and this concerns water in particular, as it indeed does all of ecology, and that is that we have large sources of pollution but also small sources of pollution and that we also have pollution that is caused by people by their lack of discipline, by their lack of competence, lack of training. This means that the whole problem must be seen comprehensively and I am, in effect, calling on all citizens to join in the endeavor of the government with everyone starting with himself. This taken together should have a big effect.

[Unidentified speaker in Czech] I would like to ask you one question which is continuously aired in telephonic conversations coming to the Office of the Government's Presidium. This concerns your announcement that you have ended your membership in the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]. People are asking what kind of reasons did you have for this step?

[Calfa] I would like to answer your question as follows: The fact that I have not been a party member for several days cannot be manifested in any way in the activity of the government. In other words, the government's activity will be at the level at which it has been up to now, and indeed we all would be glad if it improved. I would therefore like the government's activity to reach a certain level above the party level, an expert level. With regard to the second aspect, my personal attitude toward the party in which I have been (?15) years, I would ask people to understand that this is my private affair.

[Unidentified speaker in Czech] The question is raised frequently in a number of places, including the rural areas in which people express a feeling that a great deal of uncertainty has occured in economic organizations because the questions of management are not being tackled. Personnel changes often get the character of settling accounts. What could you advise people in this matter?

[Calfa] I would like to say that we are living in a revolutionary time and revolutionary time requires revolutionary acts and one of the revolutionary acts is that the management that lacks the confidence of employees cannot continue to function and it is therefore necessary to effect a change in a certain way because it is not possible for our economic organizations to function in conflict between management and work collectives. This is the first thing. Secondly, I would wish a great deal that this process of personel changes takes place in the shortest possible time on a democratic basis, that management is stabilized following such changes to enable economic organizations to fulfill their tasks as soon as possible, and I promise on my part as well as on behalf of

the government, to do our utmost in this matter because after all, working people in economic organizations and in the manufacturing sector are the creators of our values.

[Unidentified speaker in Czech] And the last question to conclude our meeting: do you have any wish for the coming days?

[Calfa] I have, of course, a lot of wishes—who does not have them? I would wish that we all are able to keep the pace that we have set, that we are able to keep it up in good health, that we are able to keep it up in good humor, that the present spirit to solve problems survives.

The Government of National Accord really works on the basis of a consensus and I have not heard any out of tune tone in the government—all of us are really tuned in to the social solving of questions in a way that is the best for our people. This is my other wish.

Yet another wish is that things develop in the direction we all want them to take—this means for the benefit of our people; that such people get to the leadership who are able to secure this process; that all of us agree to lead this country in the first phase to free elections and in the next phase to a general prosperity in all spheres. If we succeed in this, then we will not have lived in vain.

[Fiala, in Czech] Thank you for your answers. Let me also thank our guests for comming to the Office of the Presidium of the Government and I believe that we offered answers to all those questions which people ask. If not, we will answer them next time.

### Interviewed on New Government

*LD2601102190 Prague CTK in English 0945 GMT 26 Jan 90*

[Text] Prague Jan 26 (CTK)—"I was entrusted with the task of forming a new government by the president on the basis of a proposal of the former premier and not a Communist Party order or a round-table agreement. This fact was only subsequently respected by the round table", Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said in an interview published in today's RUDE PRAVO.

"Setting up the government I proceeded from the fundamental demand that it should be able to fulfil extraordinarily difficult tasks and enjoy support of all political forces. We managed to do this without mathematics of political parties", Marian Calfa said.

He pointed out that the heritage taken over by the Government of National Understanding is so complicated and burdensome that only a concerted team of specialists in individual spheres of government activities can cope with it. "From this point of view I consider the supraparty position absolutely inevitable for a successful solution to the problems of our people", the Czechoslovak premier underlined.

### Explains Economic Changes

*LD2001103990 Prague CTK in English 2038 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Text] Prague, Jan 19 (CTK)—"Our fundamental idea is to carry out changes in the economy, radical changes of its very foundations. On the other hand, however, we would like to ensure the least possible influence of these changes mainly on the people with the lowest incomes", Czechoslovak Premier marian Calfa told the directors of the Czechoslovak news agency CTK, television, and radio today.

"Our economy had been developing for 41 years with metallurgy, heavy and general engineering as its prevailing branches, i.e. in absolute dependence on the imports of raw materials and energy from the Soviet Union and the exports of Czechoslovak engineering products to CMEA markets", Marian Calfa said, adding that to change this situation means to alter the current structures, adjust modernization, suppress certain branches and activate others.

The events in Czechoslovakia have aroused great interest reflected in a plentiful number of visits to Czechoslovakia and invitations for Czechoslovak representatives to visits abroad. Their common feature is a genuine effort to help Czechoslovakia, the premier said, adding that the government's task is to create conditions for the opening up of the Czechoslovak economy to its foreign partners, to be able to communicate with them and use their interest for the benefit of Czechoslovak economy.

The Czechoslovak premier answered the question concerning the prepared establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel by saying that Czechoslovakia wishes to maintain friendly contacts with all countries, and wants all blocks to be liquidated.

He mentioned the possibilities of Czechoslovakia's participation in the process of European integration and in solving ecological problems. He stressed that the quality of food and the atmosphere must improve in the nearest future. Czechoslovakia and Austria have different opinions on several aspects concerning the construction of the Temelin nuclear power plant. "We have made it clear—we shall finish the first two units", the premier said, adding that the output of the thermal power plants in northern Bohemia will be reduced by 2,000 megawatts, i.e. the two units' output. The needful increase of energy must therefore be ensured by savings in the industrial production.

The Czechoslovak premier further pointed out that together with his Hungarian partner Miklos Nemeth they agreed to meet and solve the question of the Gabcikovo water project on the Danube. "We are ready to finish this project", he said.

Explaining his departure from the Communist Party, Marian Calfa said: "I would like to reach a supra-party level in my activities. A professional one...but also my

personal relation to the party plays a certain role in it. I would like the people to understand this act as my personal affair".

Answering the question concerning the uncertainty in the management of economic organisations, Marian Calfa said that the leadership which has no confidence of the employees cannot continue its work any longer and should be altered. "I wish that this process of variation is carried out as soon as possible and on a democratic basis, Marian Calfa said.

### Dlouhy Discusses Government Economic Plans

*LD1801200590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 18 Jan 90*

[Text] [Announcer] The federal government held its regular session today, this time at Kolodej Castle—in order to have [the talks in] peace. While the other government members walked in the park after the government session, Deputy Federal Premier Vladimir Dlouhy and Fuel and Power Minister Frantiset Pinc met journalists.

The journalists learned that the government discussed in particular the supplies of fuel and power to the national economy, financial management of enterprises and organizations in connection with the provisional budget arrangement, reinforcement of funds for the Customs and Excise Department and for the State Bank—with regard to their new demanding tasks—diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and reduction of the length of military service. It also abolished the quota on the number of students admitted to institutes of higher learning. Details will be published by the daily press tomorrow.

Vladimir Dlouhy described the economic plans of the government:

[Begin Dlouhy recording] The most important thing is that this economy ought to overstep what I call the sensitivity threshold in which the monopoly structures in industry and not only in industry will be broken; when the ineffective system of management and planning will be pushed out and be substituted with the basic market mechanism; when the idea of domestic monopoly industry competing in foreign markets is broken up and consequently we should have foreign competition against our domestic open economy if the state starts to carry out the standard state industrial and structural policy. We cannot say that with regard to these prospects we should speak about catching up with the standard of this or that economy in 5 or 7 years.

I repeat that the revolution will enter your kitchens when we gradually overcome a certain threshold of sensitivity on the path to this market. And this is the basic short-term or long-term task of not only this government but of every government which will come in the future to secure this transformation, this movement toward overcoming this sensitivity threshold with the basically stable economy—and without any illusions. This means we can secure this change with minimal social consequences. [end recording]

[Announcer] At the end of today's press conference of the Office of the Presidium of the Federal Government here are two personnel changes: Zdenek Fiala, editor of MLADA FRONTA has become a director of its press department, the Premier Marian Calfa has increased the number of government members without party membership by leaving the ranks of the Communist Party.

### Komarek Airs Views on Economic Reform

*LD1901092990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Text] First Deputy Federal Premier Valtr Komarek, speaking during a television discussion about basic principles of radical economic reform, stressed that it is incorrect to link this reform with the image of inevitable inflation, unemployment, or with the drop in the standard of living. People think this on the basis of development of the market in Poland or in the USSR. Although economic reform will not succeed without social problems, no one intends to evoke such commotions. On the contrary, the government is striving to create a space for a purposeful social policy, Valtr Komarek said.

### Komarek on Transition to Market Economy

*AU2301220290 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 20 Jan 90 p 2*

[Jindrich Stepanek article: "Will Prices Increase?"]

[Text] The last federal government session was held in Kolodeje Castle. M. Calfa, CSSR premier, made this decision because government members have recently been overworked and needed to get away from their offices and telephones—for instance, to take a walk in the forest. Shortly after the official part of the proceedings came to an end—while walking in the forest—we asked V. Komarek, CSSR first deputy premier, to answer the question of whether retail prices will remain unaltered due to the transition to a market economy, or whether they will increase. V. Komarek is a forecaster and thus, in the midst of pine trees, he gave us a short lecture:

"I think the government will do everything to ensure that prices do not increase. Basic price increases have corresponded to the administrative method of managing the economy when the balance between supplies on the domestic market was offset against the population's demand. We want to start the transition to a market economy; this raises the issue of liberalizing prices. That is, so that prices can be determined according to supply when this is exceeded by demand. At the same time, we want to overcome long-term pricing deformations. In comparison to the overwhelming majority of advanced countries, we have extremely expensive industrial goods,

electronic goods, automobiles, and consumer durables. For example, in Western countries a videorecorder represents 2-3 days' salary, but in our country this represents 5-7 times our monthly salary. In other countries the price of a car represents, roughly, three, four, or five times the monthly salary, but in our country it is thirty times more.

"On the other hand, we have low rents and our state housing stock is heavily subsidized. Our food industry sphere is complicated. Costs are often substantially higher than the retail price. The system for balancing this out is extremely complicated. If we intervene in setting retail prices, a negative turnover tax [zaporna dan z obratu] of tens of billions of korunas is created. Of course, there are other products—such as alcohol—for which the tax is positive. In short, there is a very complicated connection between wholesale, purchase, export, and retail prices; this makes market relations exceedingly complicated. Tax buffers [danove polstare] are also very complicated; thus, the pricing system is complex and does not enable producers to react. Unnatural price structures, for example, mean that foreign tourists can bulk buy foodstuffs in our country. It is even possible to bulk buy some foodstuffs on the domestic market. For example, bread is already so cheap that it pays to feed it to domestic animals. Since video technology is too expensive to save up for, it is better to have a couple of cutlets more and three beers on top of that. Thus, people are spending far more on food. At the same time, the availability of a broad selection of consumer goods means that the koruna has more value. People have something to spend their money on and the choice of goods entices the last koruna out of their pockets, in the best sense of the word. Therefore, one finds it difficult to resist the wonderful things necessary for shortening one's free time. Thus, one saves on food and joyfully finds out from the doctor that this is healthy and the less obese one is, the longer one will live.

"Let us stay away from the stressful concepts that an assault on the people is being prepared, that prices will increase, and that there will be monetary reform. People like to believe this. We will resolve these matters and, in my opinion, we should do so in public. We should give our plans on the transition to a market economy to the people for discussion. We do not want to make changes to the detriment of people's social position nor do we want to make more difficult the position of young families with children. Of course, there will be some sacrifices but I think it is unnecessary to moan, for example, about the prices of alcohol or tobacco products. It is impossible to assume that everything will be simple and without conflict, but it is also impossible to read into this that broad sections of the population will pay the price for reform. In short, it is necessary to preserve the koruna's stability and to circumvent steep inflation.

"This does not involve ideology. History has proven that a modern market economy operates with far greater effect than a centrally controlled economy."

## Calfa Resignation 'Not Violation of Agreement'

*AU2501162190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jan 90 p 2*

["(DAM)"-signed report: "Civic Forum Representative on M. Calfa"]

[Text] Prague (from our own correspondent)—In reply to a question from a New China Press Agency reporter on whether Premier Calfa's resignation from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is at variance with the roundtable agreement, Petr Pithart, a representative of Civic Forum's Coordinating Center, said at a news conference on Tuesday [23 January]: "This is not a violation of the agreement. I was at that agreement and the formula was unequivocal. It involved the president and not the premier. The formula was as follows: If the premier is to be a Slovak and a Communist, then the Czechoslovak Republic president should be a Czech and a nonparty member. That was the formula. We would have to turn it around and claim: If the president is a Czech and a non-party member, then the premier and so on.... But it was not formulated this way. Let us also not forget that this was agreed in mid-November. At that time, the Communist Party was in considerably better shape than it is today. This formula was not about the premier, but about the president."

## Party Commission Looks Into Abuse of Power

*AU2201211790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Jan 90 p 1*

["(HS)"-signed report: "The Commission Proposes..."]

[Text] Bratislava—The commission composed of members of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Control and Audit Commission, and established at the instigation of the CPSL Central Control and Audit Commission last December, held a session in Bratislava yesterday. The commission, working under the chairmanship of Jan Demikat, chairman of the CPSL Central Control and Audit Commission, dealt with cases involving abuse of office and position, which in the past have compromised the Communist Party. After studying the materials, it proposed to the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee:

In the case of Babinsky and accomplices, to expel the following former Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], economic, and party functionaries from the CPCZ: Gustav Busniak, Jan Gondo, Ladislav Luhovy, Rudolf Mikulec, Frantisek Miseje, Emil Siska, Jozef Vavra, Jan Baka, Jirina Divacka, Milan Miklas, Alojz Mikusinec, Vladimir Pirosik, and Jan Csik. In accordance with the intent of the CPCZ Provisional Organizational Order, approved by the extraordinary CPCZ congress, the commission proposes expelling the following people from CPCZ membership: Julius Turon, Dezider Goga, and Juraj Busa. The commission further recommended to the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee that the CPCZ Central Committee steering body deal with the membership of Vladimir

Janza and Jaromir Brezina in the CPCZ. In view of the fact that since 1974 letters, complaints, and disclosures concerning the Babinsky case have been reaching party and state organs and that Jozef Lenart, Peter Colotka, and Ladislav Sadovsky were not thoroughly investigated, the commission recommends that the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee assess and consider their political responsibility.

Should the Slovak Socialist Republic Prosecutor General return to the Babinsky case, the CPSL Central Control and Audit Commission will, within the framework of its possibilities, monitor the drawing up of criminal and legal charges [prostriedky] against CPCZ members and will submit proposals to the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee.

Apart from this, after reviewing other cases, the commission recommended that the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee expel Andrej Opaleny, Ladislav Spacinsky, and Jan Svab from CPCZ ranks.

### Complaint Submitted Against Ignac Janak

*AU2601091590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jan 90 p 2*

["(FM)"-signed report: "A Complaint Against I. Janak"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava (from our own correspondent)—Last December a commission composed of Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Control and Audit Commission members was set up to investigate cases involving the abuse of office and position by former officials who had compromised the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

The Executive Committee made note of a report from Jan Demikat, chairman of the CPSL Central Control and Audit Commission, that he had submitted a complaint to the municipal prosecutor in Bratislava against Ignac Janak, former CPSL Central Committee first secretary, and Jan Svab, former head of the CPSL Central Committee economic administration department. As Jan Siroky, CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee secretary, stated at Monday's [22 January] news conference, I. Janak had been given a loan from the party's operational resources which in itself is a misdemeanor or criminal act. I. Janak returned the money; despite this, however, it is necessary to investigate the circumstances of the whole case.

### 'Persecuted' Communists Begin To Organize

*AU2601085690 Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 23 Jan 90 p 2*

[Article by Karol Kukla, "political worker" of the Bratislava Communist Party of Slovakia City Committee: "A Resolute No to a New Power Monopoly; Clubs of the Unjustly Persecuted Are Beginning to Operate"]

[Excerpts] In defiance of its declarations, the Government of National Understanding is unable to successfully resist the activity of some citizens, the aim of which is to recall, or discriminate against, members of the Communist Party and those who feel sympathetic toward its ideals. In the interest of their personal ambitions these citizens assume the role of self-appointed, all-powerful judges, misusing the attractive ideas of the Civic Forum and of the Public Against Violence movement. [passage omitted] There is no difference whatsoever between their activity and the activity of the corrupt party cadres, with whom the [Bratislava] city organization of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] is resolutely coming to terms. [passage omitted] We have learned from our own mistakes, realizing where the monopoly of power has taken us. We will therefore expose everyone who would now like to gain a similar monopoly of power for himself. [passage omitted]

We are calling on all those who are being laid off today, or cannot find a job, only because they are members of the Communist party or feel sympathetic towards it to join the clubs of the unjustly persecuted [kluby nespravodlivo stihanych]. These clubs are beginning to operate under all CPSL municipal district committees in Bratislava. More detailed information is available directly in the clubs or in the consultation center in the building of the CPSL City Committee on No. 5 Vajansky Quay. [passage omitted]

### 'Socialist' Removed From Government Name

*LD2501193190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] The federal government today gave its consent to the constitutional bills on changing the title of our state to the Czechoslovak Republic, and on the same change in the title of the two national republics.

It also gave its consent to the constitutional bill on their state emblems.

One of the most extensive points it covered at its session today was suggestions for specific measures arising from the visits by the president of the republic to the GDR and to the FRG at the beginning of January. As far as the FRG is concerned, possibilities are to be discussed in the next few months for opening new border crossings, and talks are to be opened on simplifying and speeding up the issue of visas as well as on legal assistance, on short work attachments and courses, and on stepping up youth contacts.

The government also approved the action taken by our delegation at the 45th CEMA session in Sofia. The Czechoslovak demand for a radical transformation of the system of cooperation will be made more specific at a session of the CEMA's special commissions which could be held as early as February.

Part of today's discussion was also given over to the implementation of the federal government's policy statement regarding progress on tasks so far. The government decided that this matter will be the subject of further discussion, as will the quality of foodstuffs. It stressed that the problem of eradicating contaminants and toxic subjects in foodstuffs has to be viewed in all its aspects and, therefore, appropriate proposals which call for significant financial outlays will be finalized promptly.

The government approved a proposal to follow the program already presented, based on WHO proposals, in the campaign against AIDS in the CSSR.

### Former President's Gravesite To Open to Public

*LD2501105390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0930 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Beginning the first spring weekend, beginning 24 March, the gravesite of the second president of the Czechoslovak Republic Dr Edvard Benes, will be open to the public. The grave is in the garden of his villa near Sezimovo Usti.

### Ceremony Held at Jan Palach Grave

*LD2501163390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Citizens gathered today for a brief solemn act at a new tombstone at Jan Palach's original grave at Olsany cemetery in Prague. Deputy Mayor (Milan Horsky) noted that the death of the young student in 1969 deeply moved the whole nation and after 21 years it continues to stir our conscience. The new tombstone placed at the grave, where Jan Palach rested until 1973 when at someone's order his remains were transferred to Vsetaty, has restored its appropriate dignity.

### Christian Movement To Participate in Roundtable

*AU1801124890 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Jan 90 p 1*

[Unattributed CTK report: "At the Roundtable"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday, representatives of the most important political forces in Slovakia—the Democratic Party, the Communist Party of Slovakia, the Freedom Party, and the Public Against Violence Movement—held talks at the roundtable in the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee in Bratislava. They agreed that representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement should also participate in the roundtable talks. The participating parties also agreed in principle on the extent and method of the second stage of reconstructing the Slovak National Council and the CSSR Federal Assembly.

### Interior, Foreign Ministers, Spokesman Appointed

#### Deputy Interior Ministers

*AU2301160290 Prague PRACE in Czech 20 Jan 90 p 2*

[Text] CTK—The Federal Ministry of the Interior has announced that on 18 January 1990 the CSSR Government appointed three additional CSSR deputy interior ministers. The posts of deputy minister are occupied by: Ivan Prusa LLD, CSSR first deputy interior minister; Viliam Ciklamini LLD, CSSR first deputy interior minister; Jaroslav Prochazka, a graduate lawyer, CSSR deputy interior minister; and Andrej Samel MSc, CSSR deputy interior minister. At the same time, Major General Stanislav Nezval MSc was released from the post of CSSR deputy interior minister.

#### Deputy Foreign Minister

*AU2301203990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 19 Jan 90 p 3*

["LD"-signed report: "Sister V. Bartoskova Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs"]

[Excerpts] Sister Vera Bartoskova, PhD, member of our party, was appointed to the post of CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs yesterday. She was born on 23 September 1943 and comes from an old peasant family. [passage omitted] After graduating from secondary school, she was not admitted to university, because of her social background and the Christian orientation of her family. She worked as a shop assistant in a book store and, subsequently, as secretary in the editorial office of the periodical KNIZNI KULTURA. In 1967, she left for France to study at the Catholic University of Angers. After her return in 1971 she joined the Czechoslovak People's Party where, shortly thereafter, she was offered work in the party's apparatus where she has been working up until now. [passage omitted] V. Bartoskova has been member of the Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee since 1982; in 1986 she was elected deputy to the People's Chamber of the Federal Assembly. [passage omitted]

#### Government Spokesman

*AU2201135190*

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 19 January on page 15 carries a 250-word "vv"-signed report on a news conference held in Prague on 18 January, after the CSSR Government's plenary session. The RUDE PRAVO report renders the name of the newly appointed head of the Press Section at the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium as "Zbynek Fiala."

### Havel Ratifies Geneva Protocols 19 Jan

*LD1901224790 Prague CTK in English 1646 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Text] Prague, Jan 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today ratified the 1977 additional protocols to the 1949 Geneva accords on the protection of victims of armed conflicts.

The ratification of the documents reflects Czechoslovakia's support for progressive development and codification of international humanitarian law.

### Resignations From Federal Assembly

*AU1801142290*

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 17 January on page 3 carries a 250-word CTK report on the 16 January sessions of the Presidiums of the CSSR Federal Assembly chambers. The RUDE PRAVO report contains the complete list of Federal Assembly deputies whose resignation the two Presidiums accepted. According to the RUDE PRAVO report, the People's Chamber Presidium accepted the resignations of J. Obzina, K. Hoffmann, J. Hasana, V. Sipek, J. Puchmeltr, M. Vrabelova, L. Sakmar, V. Pirosik, O. Skoda, F. Tesar, J. Korcak, and A. Salvova. Moreover, the People's Chamber Presidium has been "informed by telephone" about the resignation of F. Vymetal, which must yet be confirmed in writing. The Chamber of Nations Presidium accepted the resignations of K. Rusov, J. Hrebik, and J. Pirc. The RUDE PRAVO report notes that the vacated seats will be filled at separate People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations sessions on 30 January.

### Czechs, Slovaks Disagree on National Emblem

*AU1501131990*

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 9 January on page 3 carries an 800-word article by Leon Sokolovsky, candidate of sciences, historian from the Comenius University in Bratislava, entitled "Emblem of the Czechoslovak Federation—Yes or No?"

The article takes objection to the proposal made by the Czech heraldry expert Jiri Louda on Czechoslovak Television on 27 December that Czechoslovakia revert to the national emblem used until 1960 (which portrayed the Czech lion with Slovakia's historical sign—the double cross—on its breast). According to Sokolovsky, this emblem, which was approved in 1920, was a product of the "idea of Czechoslovakism," which "denied the national identity of Slovaks, who were seen merely as 'the younger branch of the unified Czechoslovak nation'." Sokolovsky argues that the new emblem should correspond to the federative setup of Czechoslovakia and must therefore comprise the symbols of "two equal nations" which must be "in mutual balance." He therefore proposes a national emblem consisting of a "split shield," one half of which would contain the double-tailed Czech lion with a crown (instead of the star which is on top of the lion's head in the current national emblem) and the other half the Slovak white double cross. According to Sokolovsky, "only such and no other emblem can become our new state symbol—from the viewpoint of heraldry and history but, above all, from the viewpoint of the real existence of the Czechoslovak Federation. Any other attempt would needlessly delay the implementation of the legitimate right of our fraternal nations to an emblem corresponding to their centuries-old historical aspirations."

### Defense Minister Bans Use of 'Comrade' in Army

*AU1801145390 Prague PRACE in Czech 10 Jan 90 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Order of the CSSR Minister of National Defense"]

[Text] Prague—Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, CSSR minister of national defense, has issued an order on a new form of address for enlisted soldiers:

On the basis of the omission of Article 4 from the CSSR Constitution up to the time when the basic codes governing the CSSR Armed Forces will be amended, I am changing the form of address for Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] soldiers used in mutual contacts as follows:

The address "comrade" is to be replaced by the address "Mr."

Male and female subordinates or persons of lower rank will address persons of higher rank as "Mr." (or "Mrs."), followed by the appropriate rank. In verbal contact, a general of any rank is to be addressed merely as "Mr. General." The full rank (for instance, "Mr. Lieutenant-General") is to be used in written communications.

Privates (both male and female) will address each other merely by rank in conjunction with the family name. Privates (male and female) holding functions which entitle them to issue orders are to be addressed as "Mr." (or "Mrs.") followed by the appropriate title.

Persons of higher rank address their (male or female) subordinates or lower-rank, junior, and noncommissioned officers as "Mr." or "Mrs.," followed by rank. They will address (male or female) privates merely by rank, if necessary followed by family name.

When a (male or female) soldier is rewarded by a (male or female) person of higher rank, he (or she) will reply: "I serve my country!"

When a military formation (unit) is rewarded by a commander (chief), the reply will be: "We serve our country!"

The date on which the present order becomes valid is 15 January 1990.

### Call for Parliamentary Inquiry Into Army Exports

*AU1501121390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Jan 90 p 2*

["Excerpts" of open letter addressed by the workforce of the Martin Heavy Engineering Works to the CSSR Federal Assembly, drawn up at a "meeting in December"]

[Text] We have been producing tanks for many years. We have been producing these effective weapons in the firm belief that they would serve as a shield in the defense of our Republic against an external enemy, in the belief that they would be used to build up a strong Army guaranteeing that the sad year 1939 will never be repeated. However, recently we found out that most of these weapons have been exported to developing countries, to countries in a state of war where the work of our hands was turned into a tool of death and destruction. We are appalled and feel immensely ashamed. We therefore demand that a parliamentary commission be set up to investigate all circumstances of the sale and exports of arms abroad. We demand that those who are responsible for this plot against world peace be made known to all working people of our Republic.

### SVAZARM Rehabilitates Members

*LD1201031990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Jan 90*

[Text] At its extraordinary session in Prague today, the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union for Cooperation with the Army [SVAZARM] elected a new presidium. Major General Jiri Brychta remains its head.

The Central Committee adopted an action program that will guide the SVAZARM up to its extraordinary congress in March, and discussed a working draft of temporary organizational principles.

The future organizational structure of the group should take up the traditions of specializations according to interests, sports, and activities, including those of a paramilitary training character.

The Central Committee also rehabilitated all the SVAZARM members persecuted after 1968.

### Deputy Defense Minister on Military Cutbacks

*AU1901161790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Jan 90 pp 1, 7*

[Jozef Janto report: "Safer With Smaller Armies"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—General Anton Slimak, first deputy minister for national defense, commander of the Czechoslovak People's Army General Staff, and head of the Czechoslovak delegation made a speech yesterday at a seminar on military doctrines. In his speech he emphasized that Czechoslovakia rejects armed force as a means of resolving problems; our military defense policy also proceeds from this premise. Czechoslovakia has a vital interest in preserving peace, and therefore, among other things, it is striving for a positive outcome to the Vienna talks and, eventually, for the dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

He later referred to the fact that the Czechoslovak People's Army has already taken several important steps in the disarmament process: it is mothballing 850 tanks (20 percent of the overall number), 165 armored personnel carriers, and 51 fighter aircraft. From 1 February the number of forces and resources for fulfilling military tasks in forward based divisions, the air force, and air defense will be reduced by one-third. For example, this year approximately 90,000 fewer reserve soldiers will be called up to take part in military exercises. The idea of large-scale military exercises is being abandoned. Preparation for the new defense law, which will substantially shorten military service, belongs to this process. [passage omitted]

### Defense Minister Visits Eastern Military District

*AU1601103790 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 4 Jan 90 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "District Visited"]

[Text] Lieutenant General Miroslav Vacek, CSSR minister of national defense, paid a visit to the Eastern Military District yesterday. He met with its commander, Major General Imrich Andrejcak [as received], and with members of the Military Council. In a debate with functionaries of the staff he discussed the currents problems of society and the Army and, in particular, the changes of principle in the Czechoslovak People's Army arising from the abolition of the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Lieutenant General Miroslav Vacek then paid a visit to the employees of the Air Repair Shop in Trencin. In the afternoon he attended a discussion with the commanders, teachers, and students of the military vocational school named after the sub-Javorina partisans in Nove Mesto nad Vahom.

### Havel Addresses Soldiers Union Assembly

*LD1901192890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Text] The Union of Professional Soldiers of the Czechoslovak People's Army is the name of the trade union organization of soldiers founded in Prague today. The General Assembly of professional soldiers was attended by over 700 representatives of military units from all over the Republic. In the Army so far, trade union organizations existed only for employers-civilians. The union is an independent voluntary mass organization which affiliates professional soldiers and other servicemen regardless of their political membership, religion, military rank, or post.

President of the Republic Vaclav Havel spoke at the session of the General Assembly session, and said, among other things:

[Begin Havel recording] I said in my New Year's speech that a reference to the country's defense ability should not be a pretext for anyone to [reject] courageous peace initiatives or the reduction of military service, and to slow down the disarmament process. The minister has told me that some of you feel it is an personal attack against you and the meaning of your work. They feel it wrongly, because peaceful processes in Europe and in the world are not hampered by sergeants or majors or even generals, but by politicians who always say, whatever the topic, that this cannot be done because we have to be able to defend ourselves. I think that our country must be able to defend itself. I even think that the Army ought to be prepared—we hope that it will not happen, we all believe that it will not happen, but if it did happen and the Army had to fight that it really will fight, and not that, under the pretext of saving the country, it will let the country be destroyed by others. [applause]

I welcome the fact that the new wind which has been blowing in our country has blown in the Army too; I welcome the fact that the Army is generally democratizing itself; I welcome the fact that you are founding this association, and at the same time I firmly believe that it will not weaken the ability of our country to defend itself. Now I look like one of those politicians I made fun of a while ago. Therefore I am laughing, too. I want to say that (?I believe that it was not said but it should be logically said) that it will not affect military discipline which, it seems, is inevitable.

I would like to say at the end—and I think that I have said it in one of my previous speeches—that the Army is the only force in this country which has really obeyed me so far, and that is, after all, its mission. [end recording]

## Deputy Defense Minister on Military Training

*AU2301170990 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 22 Jan 90 p 2*

[Interview with Major General Rudolf Duchacek, CSSR deputy minister of national defense, by reporters from CTK, Czechoslovak Radio, and OBRANA LIDU; date and place not given: "On Innovations in the Army"]

[Text] Major General Rudolf Duchacek, CSSR deputy minister of national defense, gave an interview to reporters from CTK, Czechoslovak Radio, and OBRANA LIDU on the amendment to the length of basic military training in the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA].

He said that the length of basic military training for graduates from university military departments had been cut to nine months, effective 29 January this year, in accordance with the government order of 18 January. In addition to this, a series of measures were adopted which relate to the course of basic training for soldiers who are currently undergoing training. We consider it most important that basic military training be cut by six months for those soldiers undergoing basic training who are married or who were recruited with the lowest health classification. Graduates from university military departments who belong to this category will have their training cut by three months. Besides this, those soldiers who have serious family or social problems will also be released. All soldiers who entered basic military training in 1988 will be released after completing 22 months of service. Graduates from university military departments will be released after completing 11 months of service. The length of military exercises will be cut for both categories by eight weeks. All soldiers who entered basic military training in 1989 will be released after completing 20 months of service. Graduates will have their service cut by one month.

[Question] How many soldiers are we talking about?

[Duchacek] During this year, 70,000 soldiers will be released from basic training into the reserves. During the first two dates for release—January and February—30,000 will be released. According to the CSLA command, this is the maximum number of measures we can allow without impairing the CSLA's military capability.

[Question] What further measures are you preparing?

[Duchacek] Several other amendments have been proposed in democratizing basic military training. For example, these include married soldiers' legal rights to leave every three months and an extension of leave for all soldiers in basic training so that it is in harmony with the Labor Code. We envisage that the length of leave will be around 30 days.

[Question] These measures come at a transition period. What will happen in the future concerning the length of basic military training?

[Duchacek] The length of basic military training and cutting it to 18 months will be a subject in the amendment to the defense law which, after being discussed by the government, will have to be approved by the CSSR Federal Assembly. The measures adopted so far are temporary and will become legal when the amendment to the defense law is adopted.

[Question] Are any changes to the university military departments being prepared?

[Duchacek] The CSLA command, in collaboration with both ministries of education, is preparing fundamental measures concerning the forms of preparation in military departments at civilian universities. This will involve a comprehensive program of democratization. We envisage a reduction in tuition from the original 600 hours to 300 hours and the withdrawal of some subjects. Preparation should be concentrated into compact blocks so that civilian studies are not disrupted. Permitting

study in university military departments in civilian clothes and not in uniform is also something which is under consideration.

### Defense Minister on Changes in Army

*AU2501175290 Prague PRACE in Czech 24 Jan 90 pp 1,4*

[Interview with Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, CSSR minister of national defense, by Kazimir Janoska; date and place not given: "A Defense Law in February"]

[Text] [Janoska] Soldiers undergoing basic military training and their parents are impatiently waiting for a definitive answer. They want to know when a decision will be made about the length of basic training and about alternative service.

[Vacek] As far as this year is concerned, the decision has already been made and has already been published. As far as the amendment to the new defense law is concerned, this will be submitted to the Federal Assembly in February. In principle, a cut in actual military service from 24 to 18 months is being considered; for university graduates service will be cut from 12 to 9 months while training for university students is maintained at military departments.

[Janoska] Can you tell us how discussions about the Czechoslovak People's Army are viewed at the Vienna talks?

[Vacek] Let us not overestimate our role. I do not think the world is preoccupied with our Army's problems. The Czechoslovak People's Army sent a delegation to the seminar on military doctrines which took place in Vienna from 15-19 January. Major General Dr. Anton Slimak, commander of the General Staff, made a speech at the seminar. As far as I know, Czechoslovakia contributed to the seminar's success by summarizing all the new opinions containing everything that the democratization process has brought regarding Czechoslovak military doctrine.

[Janoska] In recent years not even our Army has avoided feminization. How do you see the participation of women in the Army's future structure?

[Vacek] If girls and women show an interest in the Army's work, we will respect their wishes. Of course, only to the extent which will be possible in light of the reduction in the number of Army personnel. We only train women and girls for noncombat roles, mainly in administration, culture, and in support ranks. We know from the Vienna talks that in the United States there is pressure from American women to be included in combat units; we have no intention of doing this.

[Janoska] What is the situation in the units now? A number of soldiers were on hunger strikes.

[Vacek] We consider the situation to have been consolidated. There are no such instances at the moment, but we do not underestimate the situation; we are constantly talking to people and we are trying to convince the soldiers that the cut in the length of service for those who are serving was the cut that was possible to make. I believe that sensible people understand this.

[Janoska] Recently, a career soldiers' trade union was established. How will the Czechoslovak People's Army command cooperate with this trade union?

[Vacek] I participated in this congress. I would like a partnership to evolve. This means there should be no breech of the commanders' necessary authority on the part of the unions. There would be no Army without this. But the union will be able to express its views on what had previously been taboo subjects. It depends on the forms we choose for this.

### Report on Conscripts To Be Sent Home

*AU2001130990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 18 Jan 90 p 1*

[Unattributed CTK report: "Earlier From Military Service"]

[Text] Prague— Conscripts who started their military service on 1 April 1988 will most likely be discharged into reserve duty on 31 January 1990 and graduates of the military departments of universities who have been serving since 1 April 1989 will leave military service on 28 February 1990. This follows from the report on the state of drafting the amendment to the law on military service which was presented by Jan Carnogursky, first deputy premier of the Federal Government, at yesterday's joint meeting in Prague of the CSSR Federal Assembly chambers' defense and security committees. The committees were also addressed by R. Sacher, CSSR minister of interior. He said, among other things, that the changes in the security forces ought to be rounded off by a change of the uniforms and by the return to the original name—that is, police.

### Vacek Addresses New Servicemen's Association

*LD2501150590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] A general assembly of the Young Servicemen's Association [svaz vojenske mladeze] has met in the Radio Palace in Prague. Editor Pavla Vitova reports from the session:

[Vitova] The meeting is being held to discuss the needs of his new youth organization in our Army, to set up its organizational regulations, and to approve the organisation's registration. The general assembly is being attended by Colonel-General Miroslav Vacek, the minister of national defense, and his deputies.

In an introductory speech, Miroslav Vacek supported the idea of setting up the new youth association as a voluntary, independent, and autonomous organization

which should operate on democratic principles, and help to deal with the leisure and social needs of young people in the Army.

He then replied to a number of questions, most of which concerned the reduction of basic military service.

### Civilian Army Employees Issue Demands

*AU2401130390 Prague PRACE in Czech 22 Jan 90 pp 1, 2*

["mt"-signed report: "Where Will People Go?; Extraordinary Congress of the Trade Union of Czechoslovak People's Army Employees"]

[Excerpts] Labor-related legal questions and social problems of the civilian employees of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA], problems that have accumulated over many years of neglect, were the subject of yesterday's Extraordinary Congress of the Trade Union of CSLA Employees. [passage omitted]

The congress agenda concentrated on questions of social care and on the defense of employees' interests and social guarantees. Speaking in the debate, delegates demanded that highly qualified employees with narrow specializations and employees of pre-retirement age not be affected by the expected reorganization of the Army and by the cut in its size and its budget. Much of the discussion revolved around the use of strikes as an extreme method of defending members' interests. Some delegates called for a law in defense of participants in a strike because strikers might otherwise be held answerable in the event of the strike disrupting the Army's combat and defense capability.

Most speakers in the debate delivered their opinion on wage issues. They demanded that salaries of career soldiers and civilian Army employees be brought into line or that wage differentials be reduced, as well as better social security in terms of the provision of medical and spa care, recreation, retirement benefits, and so forth. [passage omitted]

General Miroslav Vacek, minister of national defense, also took the floor in the course of the debate to answer delegates' numerous questions. Most of them concerned ensuring the social and vital guarantees of civilian employees in conjunction with cuts in the Army's size and equipment. He spoke about which types of production will be phased out, by how much the Army's equipment will be reduced, and what the ministry's plans in this sphere are—information which has until now been kept strictly secret. [passage omitted]

Doctor Petr Simerka was unanimously elected chairman of the trade union's Central Committee.

### Students To Boycott Military Lectures

*AU2301161890 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Jan 90 p 2*

[CTK report: "Students' Deliberations"]

[Text] Prague—"There is no justification for the existence of military departments at university-level schools in any form whatsoever. For this reason the students will not attend lectures at military departments during the summer semesters." Students from all over the CSSR adopted this decision at yesterday's [21 January] session of the Parliament of the Students' Professional Union in Prague. The representatives of 88 university departments in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia adopted several decisions:

—The Students' Parliament will convene again on 31 January 1990, to discuss issues connected with the preparation for free elections.

—The Student's Parliament released Kcs500,000 for the tutors of English who will be improving the Czechoslovak students' standards of English for the beginning of the Summer semester 1990;

—The Students' Parliament appeals to all fellow citizens to participate in the rally on the draft law on military service which will be held in the Old Town Square in Prague on Wednesday, 24 January 1990, at 1600 hours.

### Minister on 'Parallel Structures' in Security Force

*AU1701084590 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 11 Jan 90 pp 1,3*

[Unattributed CTK report: "'Red Berets' Testify Before the Commission"]

[Excerpts] Prague— Among those who testified before the parliamentary commission supervising the inquiry into the events of 17 November yesterday were also three members of the Special Unit of the Federal Ministry of Interior, the so-called Red Berets. [passage omitted]

At 1400 Brother [bratr] R. Sacher, the new CSSR minister of interior, came to the session of the parliamentary commission. He allowed the presence of journalists during his testimony before the deputies and students. Deputy J. Stank, the chairman of the commission, asked the minister two questions. They concerned the share of the State Security Corps in the events of 17 November and the objective circumstances of the reported death of student M. Smid.

After his 40-minute testimony, Minister Brother R. Sacher replied to journalists' questions. Asked about his assessment of the present situation in the National Security Corps [SNB], Brother R. Sacher replied: "I am aware of the fact that a number of approving statements are coming in in response to the appeal by the Teplice SNB District Administration [issued after the suicide of the district administration's chief], which was sent to all

SNB members and to the troops of the Ministry of Interior. Calls have appeared for setting up a trade union movement or a trade union organization in the security forces. Where ensuring social rights is concerned, one cannot have any objections to this. It must not be forgotten, however, that the security corps is a military organization working on the principle of indivisible military authority. Even in states with free trade unions there exist some activities where the right to strike must not be exercised. This right is excluded there. I want to say frankly and plainly that we have no interest in the formation of some parallel structures within the SNB. I can be more specific: We have reports suggesting that certain matters are being coordinated and we have the means to find this out."

[Question] By whom are they coordinated, Mr Minister?

[Sacher] "By people who are not in favor of this gentle revolution. This revolution is gentle but it must not be naive."

Journalists also asked whether the question has been considered of Czechoslovakia joining the Interpol system. "There have been discussions about this and we will consider this possibility. I personally see no reason why we should not join."

With regard to his testimony before the commission Minister Brother R. Sacher said that he has exempted 34 SNB members from [the oath of] secrecy to enable them to testify again before the military section of the general prosecutor's office. "I have also charged one inspector of the Federal Ministry of Interior with maintaining permanent contact with the parliamentary commission."

Concerning reports that have appeared in the press and in the public to the effect that a special unit of the Federal Ministry of Interior, the so-called Red Berets, were deployed to suppress the rebellion in the Leopoldov prison, Minister Brother R. Sacher said that he had ordered the deployment of 30 members of this unit to ensure protection and keep order at the Valdice establishment of corrective education. "However, they were under my direct command," the minister said, adding that the special unit was instructed to act only in case the prisoners took hostages.

## Members Warned Against 'Ill-Considered' Actions

*LD1201145590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 12 Jan 90*

[Text] Following citizens' notifications that some public security departments are flying black banners and that their members are ready for a kind of a protest action against attacks on them, a CTK correspondent asked the employees of the Czech Ministry of the Interior to put forward their standpoint. He found out that following the open letter of the members of the National Security Corps (NSC) District Administrationin Teplice, which responded to the suicide of its chief, the district and regional administrations [of the NSC] raised various initiatives specifying how the psychological and sometimes even physical pressures exerted on NSC members should be faced. Some of them were too radical and the Ministry therefore sent a telex to all detachments, which specified that the use of warning radio facilities, sound and light signals of NSC vehicles, the display of mourning banners, and other demonstrative actions must be unequivocally rejected. The interruption of the functioning of the security service must not be allowed either. The chiefs of the units were instructed to prevent all ill-considered actions.

## Interior Minister on Terror, Drug Situation

*AU1801083790 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Jan 90 pp 1,2*

[Report on interview with Richard Sacher, CSSR minister of the interior, by Jan Subert; date and place not given: "Are Terror And Drugs Threatening Us?; CSSR Minister of the Interior Replies to ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY"]

[Excerpts] In connection with the conclusion of the parliamentary supervisory commission's permanent session, which we reported yesterday [11 January], we attended an improvised meeting with R. Sacher, CSSR minister of the interior. We took advantage of this opportunity to ask Minister Sacher several questions.

[Subert] Rumors are spreading among our public that the "red berets" intervened during the suppression of recent prison protests. Is this true?

[Sacher] It is not. I merely issued an order for this 30-man detachment to assemble near Valdice prison, but to do so expressly under my direct command. The men acted merely as a reserve, in case prisoners who had not come under the amnesty provisions should trigger off a revolt and make hostages of their guards and the soldiers present there. In such a case I would have considered using them.

[Subert] Will the "red berets" be shaped into a regular antiterrorist commando unit, resembling the commando detachments in Western countries?

[Sacher] We must reckon with the establishment of an antiterrorist unit, but I do not know whether it will consist of the "red berets."

[Subert] Do you believe that our republic will need a brigade of "sharp guys"?

[Sacher] We have received many signals, even from abroad, indicating that Czechoslovakia will not be spared organized terror, either. And it will not be a question of classical terrorism. For instance, we cannot exclude nuclear terrorism, which involves fissionable material and nuclear power stations.

[Subert] In future, your ministry will probably be unable to do without an anti-drug division, either...

[Sacher] We are also taking this into account; and I think that our formations have already earned a certain credit here, even abroad, for instance with Scotland Yard and other police organizations.

[Subert] What will be the fate of our intelligence service? Will it be directly subordinated to a certain parliamentary committee?

[Sacher] I find it difficult to answer this question now. The intelligence service has to exist, every state has one; and if a government is to make qualified, reliable decisions, it cannot isolate itself from information. We will resolve the matter of subordinating our intelligence service to a certain body, and you will get to know about it later. [passage omitted]

[Subert] Do you believe that state security will never again be misused against the people?

[Sacher] We have already submitted to the government certain material which is meant to provide maximum constitutional guarantees against a repetition of the abuse of our state security. Never again will we tolerate the misuse of this component for the political aims of a narrow group of individuals. We will turn it into an apparatus which will really serve the people. Moreover, a situation will ensue in which we will no longer direct certain structures. Let the soldiers have what is theirs—and we are not at all convinced that the citizens could not do without certain components. [passage omitted]

### Security Corps Trade Union Organization Formed

*LD1401183090 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 13 Jan 90*

[Text] Members of the national security forces in Czechoslovakia established their own trade union organization today.

At a constituent conference in Brno, democratically elected delegates representing tens of thousands of members from all over the Republic adopted a temporary charter of an independent trade union organization of the members of the National Security Corps. They also approved principles of the statutes and program of the activities of the trade union organization up to the first regular national congress.

They decided that their trade union organization should be an apolitical, democratic, open, and independent organization to which members of the national security corps are affiliated with equal rights. The new trade union organization will be using all the legal measures to defend the rights of its members, while respecting the principle of absolute authority of commanders.

### Changes in Body Guards' Duties

*AU1601135390*

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 13 January on page 3 publishes a 1,200-word interview with an unidentified representative of the "command of the Fifth Administration of the National Security Corps [SNB]" by CTK correspondent Jiri Tomes entitled "Ready to Put Their Own Lives at Risk." The interview, the place and date of which are not specified, deals with the history and activities of the Fifth SNB Administration, whose task is to "ensure the protection of the highest representatives." As the unnamed SNB commander stresses, departments similar to the Fifth Administration exist in every state and are often much larger than in Czechoslovakia. Asked about changes in the department's activities in connection with the deletion of the article on the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] from the CSSR Constitution, the SNB official says that "the highest CPCZ functionaries, including Milos Jakes, have ceased to be protected persons; in mid-December, we also terminated the protection of CPCZ facilities that had been protected until then." Apart from "constitutional officials," only former president Gustav Husak reportedly enjoys the fifth department's protection; he is said to have at his disposal "one personal vehicle with crew." The interviewed official also mentions that a proposal has been drawn up, according to which personal protection should be accorded to the following "constitutional officials"—the president, the chairman of the Federal Assembly, the federal premier, the chairman of the constitutional court, the first deputy federal premiers, the chairmen of the Czech and Slovak National Councils, the premiers of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic, and the ministers of foreign affairs and interior. As he points out, however, this proposal has yet to be approved by the Federal Government.

### Interior Ministry on New Organizations

*AU2201224190 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 19 Jan 90 p 2*

[CTK report: "What About You?"]

[Text] The number of new parties, movements, clubs, and syndicates springing up is changing daily. A statement issued by the Federal Ministry of Interior states that up to 17 January 1990 it had received 86 written requests for the registration of new organizations, political parties, and associations with an international element, 72 percent of which were voluntary organizations, 16 percent political parties, and 12 percent associations with an international element.

### Past Security Service Collaborators Reassured

*LD2001224790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] Former members and civilian employees of the Ministry of the Interior met at the National Security Corps College in Prague today. They were addressed by Richard Sacher, federal minister of the interior. We have selected the following passages from his speech:

[Begin Sacher recording] Esteemed fellow citizens, I would like to speak on an especially sensitive question of the state, the so-called Secret Security Service. We have already done a great deal to place the security apparatus on a sound basis. We are preparing further measures and will regularly keep the public informed.

Like any intelligence service, the State Security Service, too, used in their activity various collaborators from among the ranks of our citizens. In many instances, people were forced by various means to cooperate. Advantage was taken of a difficult situation in their lives or they were threatened. Use was also made of compromising materials. I declare all such agreements, arrangements, and statements made under such pressure invalid and ineffective, and their further enforcement unlawful.

I realize that those whom this directly concerns still have various fears. This is why I have decided that all materials concerning people who were forced to cooperate with the State Security Service be gathered, sealed, and deposited in such a way that they cannot be misused. As a member of the government of national accord I wish that these citizens, too, can live without fear and in peace. [end recording]

### Student Group Calls for Police To Be Disarmed

*LD2201110790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 22 Jan 90*

[Text] The session of the parliament of the Students' Professional Union has decided to change its name to the Professional Union of Students of Czechoslovakia.

Those present in the session approved the principle of the constitution and created an action committee which will control the activity of the organization until the end of February.

The session also decided that in the summer term students will not attend military courses.

It also called for an immediate abolishment and disarmament of State Security Corps on the basis of the order of Federal Minister of Interior Richard Sacher and that this should take place under public scrutiny.

### 'Red Berets' Complain About Personal Threats

*AU2401145390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jan 90 p 4*

[Unattributed CTK report: "The 'Red Berets' Write to the President"]

[Text] Prague—Members of the Federal Ministry of the Interior special designation section, the so-called Red Berets, informed CTK on Monday [22 January] about an open letter which they had sent to the CSSR president and to several institutions.

Among other things, they write in it that after the events of 17 November 1989 the unit has been presented to the general public in an unfavorable light, that unit members and their families have been assaulted, that their property has been damaged, and that they have even been threatened with death. According to claims made in the letter, these attacks culminated on 20 January 1990 when one of the "Red Berets" was brutally assaulted by three unknown and masked attackers. The tactics of this assault testified to the fact that this was a deliberate act which had been prepared in advance; it resulted in the injured unit member being hospitalized.

The letter also mentions that the unit member involved had been accused of abusing the authority of a public official and that his assault and the appropriation of his property are obviously directly associated with this fact. No one came to his aid when he was being attacked, although there were several people close by, and, with one exception, no one was willing to testify about the incident.

Members of the special designation unit are willing to risk their lives to protect our country's citizens. However, they justifiably expect from society that citizens will stand up for and defend their rights, says the letter in conclusion.

### Secret Police Infiltrated Independent Initiatives

*AU2501174990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jan 90 p 2*

[Unattributed CTK report: "Under the Code Name 'Ruzicka'"]

[Text] Prague—The Independent Investigative Commission [NVK] has issued a statement through CTK. Among other things, the statement says:

Responsible Federal Ministry of the Interior and State Security staff have declared that State Security employees hardly participated in the events of 17 November 1989, but that they departed from the demonstration just before it reached Narodni Trida. They also claim that they took no part in preparing for the massacre. The NVK has found out about the case of Lieutenant Ludek Zifcak, a State Security employee. Lieutenant Zifcak operated under the code name of Milan Ruzicka. In this way he introduced himself to activists from the independent initiatives; he had succeeded in infiltrating them in Spring 1989. He passed himself off as a student from the Mining College in Ostrava. Of course, he also participated in the demonstration on 17 November. He attempted to influence participants in the pious act and to cause a disturbance or direct violence.

### Cadre Measures Within State Security

*AU2001105690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jan 90 p 4*

[Unattributed CTK report: "In Order to Normalize the Security Corps"]

[Text] Prague—This Wednesday [17 January] the Federal Ministry of the Interior informed the CTK that certain cadre and organizational measures have been adopted on the basis of an agreement reached by the three ministers of the interior; these measures affect the activity of State Security staff in regions and districts. In this context one principle adopted states that only members of the Public Security Corps should be nominated to various functions in the Regional and District Administrations of the National Security Corps [SNB]. On no account is this to be regarded as a sanction or a so-called witchhunt—we have here solely the implementation of the group of measures which are aimed at normalizing the activity of our security branches in the spirit of the principles governing the policy of the government of national understanding—the public was informed of these principles a few days ago. The officials released from their functions will be apointed to other functions.

### North, South Regions Discuss Moravian Position

*LD1801172190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 18 Jan 90*

[Text] The issue of the independent position of Moravia was discussed in Brno by the representatives of the North Moravian and South Moravian regional national committees. They see as the most important point active participation in the preparation of the law on elections. They also agree that experts of the two regions would work out the analysis of the current state of affairs and proposals for the future positions of Moravia and Silesia.

### Moravian 'Charter' Specifies Demands for Self-Rule

*AU2401145990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Jan 90 p 2*

[Unattributed CTK report: "Charter for Moravia and Silesia"]

[Text] Brno— At their joint session in Brno yesterday, the Society for Moravia and Silesia; the Committee for the Self- Administration of Moravia—a civic initiative operating under the Brno City Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party; the preparatory committee of the civic initiative for the self-administration of Moravia operating under the Czechoslovak People's Party in Brno; the working section for Moravia and Silesia of the Democratic Forum of Communists; the Moravian Movement Against Bureaucracy; the North Moravian initiative Friends of Moravia and Silesia; and the Association of Moravian and Silesian Artists harmonized their course of action in pursuing the restoration of Moravia's and Silesia's self-administration.

The above signatories of the Charter for Moravia and Silesia regard Moravians as a distinctive ethnic group with its own development dating back over 1,000 years. In the resolution they therefore demand:

1) The establishment of a Moravian-Silesian assembly or another representative body (parliament, national council) with legislative powers in Moravian and Silesian affairs.

2) The establishment of a Moravian-Silesian government or another Moravian-Silesian agency with executive powers or a predominantly concept-forming and appellate body with a highly qualified staff, the size of which would not exceed one-half of the staff of a single present regional national committee.

3) The restoration of Moravia and Silesia in their historical borders, including the establishment of electoral districts respecting these borders. These borders should apply already to the elections to legislative bodies planned for 1990.

4) Ensuring that national income generated in Moravia and Silesia is retained in these regions, following essential and reasonable deductions, for the benefit of the comprehensive safeguarding and upgrading of the quality of life of their residents.

### Impact of Pollution on Health Discussed

*AU1001102990*

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4 January, under the "Opinions" rubric on page 9, carries an 850-word article by Eng Dobroslava Cerna and Eng Milada Berkova, members of the "Ekoforum" operating under the Civic Forum in Teplice, entitled "Shocking Facts About North Bohemia." In their article, the authors discuss the impact of pollution in North Bohemia on the health of the population, citing "materials" of unspecified origin which "have been rarely publicized thus far." Cerna and Berkova mention, for instance, that "in the North Bohemian brown coal basin, the mortality rate of men is about 30 percent higher than in the republic as a whole and the mortality rate of women is about 15 percent higher. In other words, people are dying here at a younger age than they are elsewhere. Also, the number of deaths caused by malignant tumors is 15-30 percent higher here than the average [for the CSSR as a whole]." The authors go on to say that, according to statistics from the years 1982 to 1985, about 45 percent of all pregnancies in Teplice District were qualified as "high-risk pregnancies," compared to 30 percent in "areas without coal mining." The incidence of "inborn cardiovascular defects" and of "inborn dermal defects" among the newborn is said to be 8-10 percent higher than elsewhere in the republic. One of the anomalies found among the newborn in Teplice District is reportedly viewed as "such a medical rarity" in the world that, following the publication of data about it in a specialist journal, "foreign scientists have shown interest in studying this phenomenon on the spot." The authors attribute the defects to the presence in the atmosphere of various chemical compounds made up of heavy metals (arsenic, cadmium, mercury, and lead), the

exact composition of which is not even known because there exist no measuring devices that would ascertain the level of their concentration.

In concluding, the authors call on parliamentary deputies who represent North Bohemia to demand that the government appropriate foreign currency funds for the purchase of high-quality separators and desulfurizers for the large coal-fired power stations in the region and that it speed up conversion from coal to gas.

### Conference on Handling Nuclear Waste Reported

*AU2001144590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Jan 90 p 2*

[Unattributed CTK report: "Nuclear Power Plants Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] Jaslovske Bohunice—During operation of the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant, no radioactive waste was transported to dumps outside its area. The risk of such materials finding their way into the power plant's communal waste system has been discounted since each transport is specially controlled by dosimetric devices, said Jozef Hutta, head of the nuclear safety section at the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant, at a meeting with journalists yesterday. An inseparable part of the power plant's operation is its radiation control and, in particular, evaluation of the plant's influence on the surrounding environment. A set of figures is collected every day and compared to valid limits. For example, last year, on the basis of this monitoring, it was ascertained that the amount of radioactive materials released into the atmosphere by the power plant did not exceed the designated limits. A minor breach took place on two occasions involving emissions into the hydrosphere. These were emissions of water from A 1-type nuclear power plants which overall represented approximately 12 percent of the annually permitted limit.

### Jan Korec To Head Bratislava Seminary

*AU0901125690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Jan 90 p 2*

[Unattributed CTK report from the "Briefly from Home" column: "Announcement"]

[Text] Monsignor Archbishop Jan Sokol, Metropolitan Great Chancellor of the Theological Faculty of Cyril and Methodius [in Bratislava], appointed Father Monsignor Jan Chrizostom Korec rector of the faculty's seminary. He will take up his service on 8 January 1990.

### Replacement of College Rectors Continues

*AU2401133190*

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 16 January on page 2 carries a 50-word unattributed report on the election of Professor Engineer Stanislav Prochazka, doctor of sciences, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, as rector of the Agricultural College in Brno. The election took place on 15 January. Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak on 23 January on page 2 carries a 150-word "sch"-signed report on the election of Docent Engineer Jan Petrenko, candidate of sciences, as new rector of the Economics College in Bratislava on 22 January.

### Minister Questions Accuracy of Havel's Statement

*AU0901124790*

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 4 January on page 3 publishes a 1,200-word interview with Miroslav Belansky, minister of agriculture and food of the Slovak Socialist Republic, by Jozef Sedlak entitled "Ecologically Pure, but for Everyone; With Minister Miroslav Belansky on Special Farms and the Quality of Foodstuffs." In the interview, the date and place of which are not given, Belansky is asked to respond to President Havel's remarks in his New Year's address about the existence of "special farms which produce ecologically pure and high-quality foodstuffs" for high-ranking officials.

Belansky says that, following a "thorough inquiry" into the matter and his personal talks with top agricultural, food industry, and trade managers, he does not know of the existence of any special farms in Slovakia that would produce foodstuffs for a "selected group of people." According to Belansky, there also exist "no special contracts" for the supply of ecologically pure foodstuffs and even the diplomatic shops have not been supplied with such products. As former longtime director of the Agricultural Supplies and Procurement Enterprise, which has a monopoly on supplying feed mixtures, Belansky also confirms that there is no production plant that would specialize in the production of "special, ecologically pure feed." The minister insists that the only "specially controlled" fields and orchards have been those producing fruit and vegetables for baby food. He agrees, however, that this special control ought to be extended to the production of fruit, vegetables, and meat for all consumers.

The interview is followed by an editorial note stating that, because Minister Belansky was unable to provide any "specific data on the facts cited by Mr President Vaclav Havel," PRAVDA will ask the president's office for information on Czechoslovak "organizations specializing in the production of ecologically unobjectionable foodstuffs" so that it can publish an article on these farms.

### PRAVDA Issues Correction to 17 Jan Article

*AU2201135090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Jan 90 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Correction"]

[Text] In the 17 January issue of PRAVDA, in the article "With Limited Liability" on page 3, we made a mistake.

In the section "Republican Party," the last sentence should correctly read: "The party's representative in Czechoslovakia is Ivan Duris." We apologize to Ivan Duris and to the readers.

**Comparison of Czech Amnesty Decree on Misdemeanors**

*AU1801141890*

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 17 January on page 2 publishes the 200-word decree of the Czech Socialist Republic Government of 15 January on amnesty for misdemeanors. Comparison with the item headlined "Czech Government Announces Amnesty 15 Jan" published in the 17 January 1990 East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 23, column two, shows the two items to be identical, except for the following variation:

Last paragraph, last sentence reads: ...carried out by 15 February 1990 at the latest....(changing "January" to "February")

## CDU Withdraws Ministers From Government

*LD2501205290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2032 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] has today withdrawn its ministers from the GDR Government in order to clear the path for negotiations with the new parties and groups. This was announced in a statement after an extraordinary meeting of the CDU Presidium. The CDU ministers will hold caretaker positions in office until 9 February, the statement says. The CDU will tolerate Prime Minister Modrow forming a new government with all involved in the roundtable if at the same time he states the suspension of his membership and offices in his party.

## Further on Withdrawal

*LD2501222190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2116 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR's Christian Democratic Union [CDU] has today withdrawn its ministers from the government in order to clear the path for talks with the new parties and groupings. This was announced in a statement after the extraordinary meeting of the CDU Presidium. The CDU ministers will hold their offices in a caretaker capacity until 9 February, says that statement. This affects Deputy Prime Minster Lothar de Maiziere, Construction Minister Professor Gerhard Baumgaertel and Minister of Posts Dr. Klaus Wolf. The CDU assumes that other parties participating in the government will take the same step.

Should no agreement be reached by the date named, the party executive will come to a final decision. The CDU would tolerate Prime Minister Modrow forming a government with all those involved in the roundtable, if, at the same time, he states the suspension of his membership and offices in his party. A solution of the kind whereby only "advisers" were put at the side of members of the government to date, as expounded by the Social Democratic Party, was also rejected.

At the same time, party Chairman de Maiziere did not rule out the CDU's particpation in a grand coalition government. "We shall not fight for the privilege, but we shall also not fail in our responsibility," he said.

The situaution in the country has created an emergency situation that requires the broad consensus of all those prepared to be responsible and reasonable because of its crisis character, the statement goes on to say. For weeks the CDU has supported the Modrow government—even against voices from its own grass roots—in order to create stablity and make possible an orderly development until the free elections on 6 May 1990. All attempts "to discredit this as the old behavior of accomodating the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is strongly rejected by the Presidium as dishonest and unfounded." The current government has got into a crisis through no fault of the CDU. The party can no longer continue to help support it.

## Other Parties Stay With Modrow

*LD2601144490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1247 GMT 26 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] today underlined its readiness to remain in and continue to work within the government coalition of the Modrow Cabinet. A party spokesman's statement, released to ADN, says that the NDPD will do everything in its power to guarantee equal participation in a grand coalition of all political forces represented at the roundtable. With this decision, the party wants to help contribute, by a readiness to compromise, to ensuring the governability of the country under the present extremely complicated conditions. The NDPD expects to continue to have two representatives in the government. However, this is not linked to retention of the Ministries of Light Industry and Trade and Supply posts that it currently occupies.

The Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, likewise, sees no reason to withdraw its ministers from the Modrow government. The party's press office has announced this, referring to a decision by the Secretariat of the party executive in an extended session. The Secretariat underlined the decision by the central executive last week under which its ministers will remain in the government until 6 May and work constructively to solve the country's problems.

There is no reason to withdraw ministers of the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany from the Modrow government before coalition negotiations. This was stated today in Berlin by Michael Koplanski, the deputy party chairman, during a news briefing.

The Christian Democratic Union [CDU], by contrast, decided at an extraordinary session of its Presidium last night to withdraw its ministers from the Modrow government to pave the way for negotiations with the new parties and groupings.

## 2 Democratic Awakening Leaders Resign

*LD2501212690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1914 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Weimar/Bonn (ADN)—Two members of the executive of the Democratic Awakening have declared their resignation from the party in a statement conveyed to ADN. Edelbert Richter and Harald Wagner give as a reason for this the one-sided alignment of the party with the FRG's Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union CDU/CSU. This had already been hinted at in November of last year.

"Without agreement with the Executive, even against agreements made, Wolfgang Schnur has again and again cultivated contacts mainly with the CDU/CSU and wooed them as partners," it says in the statement. "This one-sided alignment contradicts the original intentions, the program, and the position paper worked out by the

executive in January of this year of Democratic Awakening [DA]. The basis for our continued collaboration in Democratic Awakening is thus withdrawn by all of this."

As emerges from the statement, members of the Leipzig, Gera, Naumburg, Erfurt, Eisenach, Sondershausen, Illmenau, and Tiefenort local associations have joined them in resigning.

Pastor Rainer Eppelmann has rejected the Bonn CDU Executive's ideas according to which his party should join an alliance of Christian Democrat liberal and conservative forces for the elections on 6 May. Epplemann told the Bonn newspaper DIE WELT (Friday edition) that he did not want to see "Democratic Awakening shoved into a corner it itself did not want." The original idea of a broad-based grouping of, if possible, all libertarian and democratic tendencies should not be given up. The co-founder of the party said the Democratic Awakening has four legs: "a social, a Christian, a liberal, and an eco-democratic." Otherwise, he himself, as he is "actually a social democrat," could not find a place for himself in it. According to Eppelmann, the Bonn CDU's alliance policy is "cut to the political landscape of the Federal Republic" purely as an electoral tactic.

### Leipzig City Council Dissolves

*LD2601145590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1353 GMT 26 Jan 90*

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—The Leipzig City Council dissolved itself today. This is because Dr. Bernd Seidel, the former mayor, now in custody, admitted to election rigging. As Guenther Haedrich, the acting mayor, underlined in a statement by the city government, the deputies thus have no legitimacy. The originally planned new election of the mayor has also been canceled. The city government will continue its work in a caretaker capacity in the first instance. There will be talks at the roundtable on the future governability of the area city on 31 January. [passage omitted]

### Former Defense Minister Kessler Arrested

*LD2501162490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1555 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Former GDR Defense Minister Heinz Kessler has been taken into custody. The press office of the Attorney General's Office announced this to ADN today.

He is accused of abusing his official powers during his period of office to commit criminal acts.

### Results of Government Session Discussed

*LD2501211890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1717 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—At today's Cabinet session, Prime Minister Hans Modrow described Monday's roundtable talks as the start of a now phase in cooperation with the government, GDR government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer announced at an international news conference. [passage omitted]

The government spokesman said that the government had also discussed which buildings are to be handed over by the Socialist Unity of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] to other parties, to the Socialist Democratic Party in particular, and whether any legal claims can clearly be enforced.

Regarding reports that Prime Minister Modrow will suspend his SED-PDS membership in the event of a grand coalition government, Meyer replied that the prime minister did not touch upon this issue in his talks with Christian Democratic Union [CDU] General Secretary Martin Kircher. [passage omitted] Referring to the necessary structural changes, Economic Minister Professor Christa Luft said that they face the task of improving retraining and counseling, as well as improving the qualifications of staff at labor exchanges. Mobility of labor is a fact "with which we have to live." A package of social guarantees is required.

In response to a question from ADN, Prof. Luft announced changes in the GDR's banking system before the end of the year. She spoke of a broad-based commercial banking system. As regards money from the European Reconstruction Program, this does not have to be paid to enterprises in DM in every case. Referring to currency issues, she added the remark: "This government would have prepared itself better for an opening of the frontiers." [as received] [passage omitted]

Wolfgang Meyer went on to say that the Council of Ministers dealt with a draft from the minister of health on immediate pay measures. As this can only be dealt with and resolved in connection with other areas, the discussion was postponed. The issue of higher wages and salaries will be resolved by mid-February.

The government noted the statement by the executive of the Domowina on the situation of the Sorbs. Ministers were tasked with analyzing how the nationalities policy has been implemented and with submitting proposals on how this issue can be better addressed in the government's work. The use of Sorb territory for mining is also to be examined. [passage omitted]

### Siegert as Finance Minister

*LD2501173490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1609 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—At today's Cabinet session, Prime Minister Hans Modrow assessed the roundtable talks on Monday as the start of a new stage in cooperation with the government, GDR government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer announced at the international news conference afterward. [passage omitted]

GDR Economics Minister Professor Christa Luft announced to international correspondents that the government has passed the decree on the founding and activities of enterprises with foreign equity. [passage omitted]

Prof. Luft said that the SED-PDS's [Socialist Unity party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] ministerial posts claimed by the opposition were not discussed. They were unable to discuss this subject because the opposition was not able to say with what expertise it attended to enter the government.

Prof. Luft, on the subject of a timetable published in the Western media for the convertibility of the GDR mark, said that this was only a draft that had not even been dealt with by the Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

Finally, it was announced that Dr. Walter Siegert has been given the task of exercising the function of finance minister. The post of minister itself is still vacant at the moment.

### Modrow on Roundtable

*LD2501151690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1336 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Prime Minister Hans Modrow today assessed the roundtable talks on Monday [22 January] as the start of a new stage in cooperation with the government, GDR government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer said at the international news conference in Berlin. Questions of the stabilization of the situation in the country had been discussed at length.

In this regard, Meyer noted it is hardly conducive to ensuring free elections on 6 May when to an increasing extent the media and politicians in the FRG see themselves in the form of a new guardian of the GDR Government, openly interfere in the internal affairs of the GDR, and disregard the right to self-determination, which they are otherwise so keen to advocate.

The government spoke in favor of holding elections to the town councils and parishes on 6 May.

### Modrow Denies SED-PDS Membership Suspension

*AU2501200190 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Wolfgang Juengst report on statements by Premier Hans Modrow and Socialist Unity Party of Germany member Steffen Reiche in Berlin on 25 January—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The pressure on the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] will further increase if the statements by Kirchner, general secretary of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] of the GDR, are correct, that is, that Premier Modrow wants to suspend his SED membership.

Hans Modrow commented on his talk with the CDU general secretary:

[Begin Modrow recording] It is not customary for representatives of another party to talk about membership in a party. You have only one source, which has already supplied questionable information before. This topic was not discussed during the talk yesterday evening. [end recording]

For the opposition parties, for example the Democratic Awakening, the prerequisite for cooperation in the government is that Modrow will be a premier without a party membership book. Modrow clearly committed himself in a talk with the Social Democrats days ago.

[Begin Reiche recording] Hans Modrow already promised us on Sunday [21 January] that he will suspend his SED-PDS membership until 6 May. We waited until Monday. On Monday he clearly stated at the roundtable that he will be the president of the government for the GDR people, not for a party. This is also the prerequisite for our cooperation in this government coalition, because one cannot work under the leadership of a president of government who represents a party that is responsible for this crisis and against whose existence hundreds of thousands of GDR people go on strike and demonstrate. [end recording]

### Gysi Defends SED-PDS Activities, Policies

*LD0801233690 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2110 GMT 8 Jan 90*

[Interview with Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism, and Dr. Wolfgang Uhlmann of Democracy Now, by Juergen Huhn and [name indistinct]; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] Mr. Gysi, [passage indistinct]

[Gysi] One problem is that this roundtable was installed the same time an election campaign started. That is difficult because it then always becomes a mixture of an attempt to be constructive and an attempt to give oneself a profile in the election capaign. It is, of course, much more favorable if all are only interested in clearing up objective issues and much less interested in presenting themselves. I believe it makes no sense if one gives space to the desires and fears of one side and then leaves out the other side. But it is real; people are afraid in our country that it is possible old structures and practices of the Ministry for State Security will be restored via an Office for the Protection of the Constitution. This fear must be taken into account. On the other hand, there are also justified fears of a security vacuum that places us before faits accomplis that cannot be removed. Such a country, and above all its people, needs security.

One must see this as well. For this reason, we are in favor of getting as quickly as possible from responsible bodies a report on inner security in our country, so that we simply know how things look in this area. Then, democratic control by parliament, by representatives of the roundtable as well—who are then also, of course, obliged to confidentiality—of the dissolution of one office and the possible establishment of an Office for the Protection of the Constitution by means of relevant, objective information, as well as the final decision, is only then possible, I think, when this report is available, when everyone is clear about the actual situation in this area. If the will exists to solve the objective issues, then I believe constructiveness is possible. Each person should try to refrain from self-promotion and try to solve the issues in the interests of the citizens.

[Reporter] You spoke of the election campaign. The opposition accuses the Socialist Unity Party of Germany these days of forcing the opposition parties into a corner, above all, by material means, of which you have more. Is it your intention to force the parties into a corner and thereby be able to fight your campaign better than the other parties?

[Gysi] You know, I can also be a little polemical, yes? My party is in an extremely difficult situation in any case. We must, above all, renew ourselves democratically. That has happened perhaps to a certain extent at the top already, but that must be continued downward in the structures. That is so complicated a process that it will be sufficient work in itself. At the same time, we must make our contribution to democratic renewal in this country. We have to conduct an election campaign, and we are expected to provide an economic platform and other things, ideas on content, programs, etcetera. Well, we are really sufficiently occupied. I am only saying that, and at the same time, we are having thoughts about the working conditions of the other parties. We cleared out of a building in order to put it at the disposal of the state and other parties. We also are doing without much more than 2,000 tonnes of paper so they can bring out their own papers, but I don't know how far we should go.

I mean, we can't provide them with electors and sympathizers as well! And, that an old party, a large party of course, has more possibilities than one that has just founded itself with a relatively small number of members, I believe is so throughout the world. In the last instance, it leads to the demand that we should dissolve ourselves, doesn't it? That is the final demand, connected with everything else, and of course we are not prepared to go along with that. We are ready for objective, constructive clearing-up, in this connection as well, but not if it means in the final instance our destruction. That would be too much of a demand on us. Yes?

[Reporter] Such a demonstration...

[Gysi, interrupting] And also, you know, I want to say something to you about the broadcast times. If you compare your station with the other radio stations and television, I think that, in the case of political programs, there is a 50-50 share already. At times there is even a certain advantage for the other parties and movements. If you then consider that they have almost all Western media at their disposal, which can also be seen and heard in the GDR, then I could try to reverse the calculation, but that is too stupid. I am not adding up the broadcast time, but the eternal lament is not, in my opinion, justified.

[Reporter] And what do you think of the assertion that you clearly needed the protest demonstration in Treptow Park for the election campaign?

[Gysi] You know, I think it is completely legitimate to call for a demonstration, as others in this country are also constantly doing, in order to articulate something. All other demonstrations are legitimate. If we stage one, then it is suddenly unjustified for some reason or other. I think we have not lost the right to demonstrate. It also dealt with the antifascist spirit and nothing else. And you practically cannot do anything today without someone accusing you of conducting an election campaign as well. You have to decide whether you will say anything anymore or whether you will never speak again because this accusation is always raised. On this topic, antifascism—and we all appealed for it—all oposition parties could have spoken there, anyone could have promoted himself there if he thought it was a way of poromoting himself.

I cannot help it if the others don't take part, but antifascism is so important that one must not abuse it for election campaign purposes. That is my view on this. In any case, some things were said there that didn't please me either, but you can't pick and choose any more at a rally today. The people say what they want or think, and they shout what they want or think. They don't stand at the front and [words indistinct]. Those times are gone, happily. One cannot seriously expect from us that we exercise some form of influence in order to restore the old conditions in this regard. I am not prepared to do this. They should shout what they themselves think is right, the citizens, and nothing else. As I said, everyone could have taken part and everyone could have given his view and that such a misunderstanding would never have arisen. If you exclude yourself and then accuse the others afterward of [word indistinct] the event, I don't think that is justified even if (?it is just polemics). [passage omitted on interview with Democracy Now representative]

## SED-PDS on Ties With Socialist Countries

*AU1201144290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jan 90 p 2*

[ND report: "SED-PDS Body Discussed International Politics"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—The International Politics Commission at the Executive Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism

[SED-PDS] will pay particular attention to consolidating and expanding the friendly relations with the CPSU and the peoples of the Soviet Union, as well as the relations with the other communist and workers parties, in particular in the socialist neighboring countries, which are facing the renewal of socialism in their countries. This was stressed by Jochen Willerding, member of the Executive Committee and head of this commission, at the constituent session of the body in Berlin on Tuesday [9 January]. Great attention will also be paid to the development of relations between the two German states.

In working groups that have been established according to topics the commission members discussed further questions. It was noted that the policy of restructuring in the USSR facilitated the democratic changes in the GDR. At the meeting, the ideas of the SED-PDS for the future shaping of a responsible European policy were discussed. This vision of a future Europe is to be presented to the public as a subject for discussion.

## SED-PDS Presents Disarmament Initiative

*AU1001164390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jan 90 p 1*

["Text" of disarmament initiative submitted by Gregor Gysi, Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism chairman, in East Berlin on 6 January: "Proposal: Security Model 2000"]

[Text] Is disarmament possible in Europe?

This question, asked by Friedrich Engels, was a utopian vision in the past century. Today it is a tangible reality. In keeping with the tradition of the workers' movement, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] suggests that the two German states start demilitarization at the center of Europe, and that they stipulate cooperative security structures within their treaty-based community. This requires a new way of thinking. One should not think in terms of enemies and opponents, but in terms of a security partnership, and one should not speak about deterrence but about confidence.

This will become a reality through radical disarmament.

Who is preventing the two German states from reducing their armed forces by 50 percent by 1991? Would both sides not demonstrate their confidence if a demilitarized zone were established on both sides of the border, if there were neither low-level flights nor landing craft, nor submarines? Nuclear weapons, including those in depots, must be banned from German soil. Training areas and prohibited zones could be converted into recreation centers for people and the environment. Means that would no longer be needed for military expenditure in the two German states could be fed into a joint fund for large ecological projects.

We are not dreamers. Both German states belong to different military alliances. The standing armies in the European states that include over 6 million soldiers cannot be abolished overnight. However, it would be possible to eliminate their attack capability by the year 2000.

To shape the treaty-based community with the FRG in the military sphere, the SED-PDS proposes the following:

1. The National People's Army and the Bundeswehr are to be reduced to 50 percent of their current strength.

2. Any modernization of weapons and military equipment is stopped.

3. General military service is set at 12 months in both states.

At the suggestion of our extraordinary party congress, the GDR Government has submitted a corresponding proposal.

4. No units above company strength should be based within a distance of 50-80 km on both sides of the border. Training areas will be eliminated in this zone.

5. All low-flying exercises are immediately banned.

6. The two states have neither submarines nor landing craft in the Baltic Sea.

7. Arms production and purchases will be reduced considerably in this connection, and arms sales outside the respective alliances are banned.

8. The Allies are called upon to systematically prepare their troops for the complete, step-by-step withdrawal by 1999, starting in the border region. Low-level flights by their air forces are banned.

9. Nuclear and chemical weapons are to be withdrawn from FRG and GDR territory by 1991.

10. The civilian rehabilitation of professional soldiers will be carried out systematically and in a generous way, without any social disadvantages resulting for those concerned. A retired soldier is cheaper than an active soldier.

Without a reduction in military confrontation between the two German states, every word about the unity of the nation lacks credibility.

## Proposal Called 'Naive'

*AU1201184590 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 9 Jan 90 p 1*

[ADN report: "Egon Bahr in Potsdam: Disarmament Lags Behind Political Development"]

[Excerpt] Potsdam—Whereas rapid progress has been achieved in political developments, disarmament and arms control are lagging behind.

This was stressed by the member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Egon Bahr, during a lecture to the Scientific Council, teachers, and students of the Institute for International Relations at the Academy for State and Legal Sciences in Potsdam-Babelsberg. The policy of the two German states must be aimed at accelerating disarmament. Bahr stated that he is convinced that the Germans will never again fire shots at each other. The two German armies are no longer able to wage or win a war.

However, he described as "a little naive" the proposal of the Executive of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism aimed at the 50-percent reduction of the armies in both Germans states. Reductions by 50 percent would upset the balance of forces, because the FRG is more important for NATO than the GDR for the Warsaw Pact. However, the SED-PDS proposals are worth discussing, he pointed out. [passage omitted]

## SDP Advocates Peace Treaty With FRG

*AU1201185590 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 9 Jan 90 p 3*

[SDP Statement: "SDP on German Question—for a Peace Treaty"]

[Text] The Social Democratic Party [SDP] in the GDR advocates the unity of the German nation. This unity must be shaped by the two German states. A chance for this is opening up now, because we are in the process of attaining self-determination after 40 years of dictatorship. We are becoming equal partners in this process. A quick reunification in the sense of an incorporation into the FRG would endanger this very process. The population would have to bear irresponsible social and political burdens.

Because of the current inefficiency of our economy and infrastructure, a large part of our population would become part of the lower social classes of an affluent society. Large families, single-parent families, pensioners, handicapped persons, and the sick would be facing unforeseeable consequences.

The shaping of German unity is not a matter that concerns the Germans alone. It must take place in such a way that this unity does not endanger but promotes the European state of peace. We must not ignore the interests of our East European neighbors who—just like us—have embarked on the path of self-determination. They should be able to rely on the final recognition of their borders and our solidarity.

Together with the FRG, we want to turn to the former victorious powers to negotiate a peace treaty that grants us full sovereignty.

The necessary improvement of our country's economy does not require a quick incorporation into the FRG, as many believe, but the quick installment of a democratically elected government. Such a democratically elected government can vigorously support our interests in negotiations on economic cooperation and aid. For this reason, early elections to the supreme people's representative body are urgently required.

## CDU Christian-Social Committee Founded

*LD0801224390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1933 GMT 8 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian-Social Committee (CSA) in the GDR Christian Democratic Union [CDU] was founded in Berlin on Saturday [6 January]. It emerges from a press communication made available to a ADN today that the body is to press "in a politically effective form, for social justice, for social security, for social integration, and for possibilities of developing the individual."

"The CSA appeals to all those citizens, whether members of the CDU or not, who wish to support social responsibility and who feel committed to the heritage of progressive social movements, to cooperate actively," the founding resolution states.

The participants in the founding assembly elected the executive under Dr. Michael Seidel. A rules commission and a program commission have started their activities.

## CDU Spokesman Discusses Election Plans

*AU1201203790 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 9 Jan 90 p 2*

[Interview with Helmut Lueck, press spokesman of the Christian Democratic Union, by Hans Joachim Koppe; date and place not given—"As a Party of the Center, Into the Elections With Acceptable Political Objectives"]

[Text] [Koppe] The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] has a new press spokesman. What are his plans?

[Lueck] To comply with the statutes: These oblige him to represent and interpret the policy of the party and the decisions of its bodies concerning the media in an informative way. Moreover, the press spokesman is responsible for party magazines, publications, and for canvassing for confidence.

Thus, I have described the tasks but also the problem. In particular, the most recent attempts to force the CDU into the corner of right-wing extremism, and the use of the neo-fascist danger for other—recognizable—party-political purposes have made us feel all too clearly how the great and not exactly independent media are treating us. By the way, I believe that this issue has been dealt with so extensively that more and more people realize what is behind it. I believe that it will be the concern of the roundtable to call for structures that permit the control of radio, television, and the news agency under public law. After all, it seems that one

cannot rely on goodwill in this respect. The new parties also deplore the emergence of restorative tendencies.

Concerning the current situation, I would therefore make the following clear statement: An election campaign costs money. As of now, we do not even know the conditions for the elections on 6 May. Yet we not only need free and secret elections but elections that provide equal opportunities for all. The way things are now, we will not be able to achieve this without support for the new parties and those of the "old" parties that have now acquired independence.

If this is further impeded at home, we will be forced to rely on certain offers. I cannot imagine that we will allow that very party to ban such help, a party that did not show any embarrassment or reservations about, for example, providing massive support for a great number of "associated parties" a little further to the west. We will certainly not support a party that has an apparatus that tends to acquire the dimension of a state.

The second challenge consists of helping to turn the former (central and area) "organs" of our party into attractive dailies that are not read only by members and supporters that have subscriptions, but that an approximately equal proportion of all of these papers is also available at the newsstands. The initial decisions have been adopted in this respect. However, the newspapers also need support so that they can meet this new challenge as far as personnel and structures are concerned. The radical changes have caused unrest that is positive and necessary. Now we must focus on the new challenges. We need quality, a professional approach, and clear positions.

[Koppe] The election campaign has already started. What are the chances of the CDU?

[Lueck] Actually our chances are good if our party manages to get a few things across to the public better.

The first issue involves credibility. Unfortunately, many people in both East and West do not know that the CDU has really undergone a reform—a reform from the grass roots. This has involved people from the church basis who, as early as the beginning of September, urged personnel and programmatic changes, and who ultimately forced the change in the leadership. This has created a "pair of tongs"—consisting of the critical base and the new, unburdened leadership. This has proved to be the instrument for really changing the party, its apparatus, its structures, and its program. The chances for renewal of the CDU were more favorable than in the case of the other so-called bloc parties. This was not by coincidence. After all, its members at the base have another original sphere of experience, communication, and establishing convictions, and do not have to rely only on the sphere of politics; they have the Christian community and the church. This fact was probably the reason why, particularly in the case of the CDU, the reform started from below.

This is also the reason why we now have so many church people in the party leadership. Some do not like that. However, the resistance against the real socialist system was bound to emanate from the church. Yet this by no means implies that the CDU is a party of the church; it can receive votes and also wants to receive votes from non-Christians. Our political objectives are not exclusive anyway, even though they are in line with the Christian concept of values.

By the way, the Christian concept of man proceeds from the assumption that man can be good or bad, and that this is not only caused by social structures. Thus, we are realistic and very skeptical about all radical ideologies aimed at improving the world that, not without reason, have turned out to be totalitarian and destructive.

However, one must admit that the participation of the CDU in the current transition government makes its opposition role more difficult, as we can see nearly very day. There are many people who cannot understand that in this way our party is assuming its share of responsibility for the crisis that has developed, in order to make it possible to "survive the winter," in both the real and figurative senses of the word. This is an "exercise in repentance"—if I may use this term as a theologian.

I know very well that many people do not want to hear our words about repentance and change. This is our problem, which we cannot avoid as a Christian party, and which we do not want to avoid for the mere sake of party politics. The cautious behavior of our chairman testifies to this in a lively manner.

However, this does not mean that there are not a great many topical issues in the political sphere that we must tackle, including media policy, the financing of parties, and above all the electoral law, which in turn leads to questions concerning the coalition issue. The following principle applies to everyday life and to politics: There are limits to our acceptance. In our serious and gloomy situation, we should not handle this issue in a careless way. However, the limits are there. Nobody should have any illusions about that.

This is what I wanted to say about our chances with the new credibility. Let me now say a few words about our political program.

Most of the people want something quite normal now—they want justice and democracy to be restored, they want one to feel free, without ideological pressure. They want good work to be worthwhile and to bring real money. They want real social services and not only so-called achievements. Above all, they do not want reunification to take place in the West just because the most recent attempt to bring about real changes has not gone far enough. There is the danger that we will be facing another wave of refugees after 6 May.

Most of the people have still not decided for whom they should vote. They usually know what they do not want. They do not trust revised concepts. The large number of

new groups does not make the matter easier either—no matter how understandable the urge to express themselves is among these groups. For this reason, a 3-percent clause must be included in the electoral law. Just remember Weimar!

In any case, the chances of the CDU are quite good if it succeeds in achieving credibility as a center party, and if it presents acceptable goals. We have created the necessary preconditions.

## CDU Position on Neo-Nazi Issue Criticized

*AU1001204090 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 6-7 Jan 90 p 2*

[Thomas Leinkauf commentary: "Below the Belt"]

[Text] It is really paradoxical. If the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] acts decisively against the neo-fascist danger in our country—as it did and others did, at the large demonstration in Treptow Park recently—and calls for unified political action against those forces, it does this for reasons of the election campaign, in the view of some other political forces. This was the tenor of, for instance, a commentary in NEUE ZEIT, the paper of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU], yesterday. In order to substantiate this, mistakes of the old SED policy are used, which kept silent about neo-fascist trends in the GDR because they did not fit the deliberately gleaming facade of "real existing socialism." In any case, the party of democratic socialism has declared its intention not to repeat this political mistake. However, the clear stance of the PDS against the noticed and recognized rightist danger, that is, against ultrarightism, neo-fascism, nationalism, and chauvinism, does not seem to fit into the tactical calculations for the elections by some people.

Obviously they rather consider it appropriate to place their hits far below the belt. Does the SED-PDS feel it is the legal successor of the fascist NSDAP, because it is allegedly using "a striking number" of buildings, which were used by the brown lords before 1945, a reader's letter asks in the same edition. This is really more than tasteless. Whoever conducts an election campaign by defaming others must accept being asked whether he himself is not poisoning the political climate. Political culture of democratic conflicts, which we need so urgently—also or perhaps precisely in the struggle against ultrarightism—and for which the CDU is also calling, can hardly develop in such an atmosphere.

## Democracy Now Presents Unification Plan

*AU1201190390 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 9 Jan 90 p 3*

[Statement issued by Democracy Now; date and place not given: "Three-Stage Plan for National Unification"]

[Text] Two disastrous world wars started in Germany this century. Pan-Germanic ambitions and criminal nationalism led to the disintegration of the German Reich and to the loss of the German territories in the east. In recognition of German guilt and by assuming the responsibility for what happened, we declare to our European neighbors that the German borders, as determined after World War II, are inviolable. Silesia, Pomerania, and East Prussia should, without any reservations, be the home of the people living there today.

### Experiencing the Unity of the People in a New Way

The two German states and the inner-German border have formed and been consolidated as a result of the cold war. With the end of the cold war, we have recently experienced the unity of the German people in a new and elementary way. Many citizens in our country are now asking how this unity is to be shaped in the future. In our view, a "reunification" by incorporating the GDR into the FRG cannot solve the German question. We believe that the time is not yet ripe for new unity among the Germans. However, our policy is also aimed at a new political unity of the Germans that is characterized by solidarity.

This new unity can only be the result of a process of rapprochement and of political and social reforms in both German states. Such a process must be free of violence, and existing treaties and international accords must be observed in agreement with the allied powers and with the participation of all European neighbors. We consider it indispensable to develop new ties with the East European peoples on a democratic basis in a reformed alliance. For this reason, we support the proposal for the early convening of a conference on security and cooperation in Europe that promotes the European integration process and provides a legal basis for it. We also support the proposal for a European citizens' conference within the framework of the CSCE.

### German Unification and Disarmament

We want the process of German unification to be linked with clear disarmament steps in both German states. A unified Germany should be a demilitarized Germany. On the path toward the new political unity of the Germans, numerous steps are conceivable and desirable that would contribute to establishing closer economic and cultural ties and unity to a more common infrastructure, and that would make it easier for Germans to live together. In this process, the two German states must first preserve their independence, have equal rights, be committed to public welfare, and take into consideration social and ecological matters.

We propose a three-stage plan of national unity to the citizens in the GDR, and invite the Germans in the FRG to participate in its realization. We suggest the following steps:

### First Step

—Implementation of basic political and social reforms in the GDR in alliance with our East European neighbors.

—Economic and ecological consolidation of the GDR, with the help of the FRG and the other European countries, by introducing a market economy that is based on the rule of law and is committed to public welfare.

—Holding of free elections and the establishment of a democratic parliamentary system in the GDR.

—Drafting of a new GDR constitution in which the unity of the nation and the goal of state unity for the Germans are laid down; its adoption through a referendum.

—Restoration of the laender and far-reaching decentralization; reduction of the central power.

—Introduction of social and political reforms in the FRG that lead to more social justice, to a tangible reduction of the unemployment rate, and to more environmental compatibility in production and consumption.

—Further decentralization and strengthening of the laender-based structure in the FRG.

—Start of a German-German disarmament process within the framework of the alliances.

Convening of a German National Assembly of citizens from both states to establish closer ties and to promote the democratic formation of the people's will on the national issue.

**Second Step**

— Expansion of the Basic Treaty between the FRG and GDR through a national treaty.

—Double membership of the two German states in EC and CEMA.

—Participation of the European peoples in the German unification process within the CSCE.

—Suspended membership in the Warsaw Pact and NATO, continuation of the demilitarization with all-European participation of the allied military potential.

—Creation of a development fund fed by the financial means that are released as a result of disarmament; support for economically weak countries and provision of aid for the ecological reconstruction of particularly affected regions from this fund.

—First steps to restore unity in the sphere of economy, tax policy, and financial policy.

—Preparation of a German-German referendum on the issue of state unity.

**Third Step**

—Conclusion of the demilitarization and of the withdrawal of the allied powers.

—Adoption of a system of CSCE treaties that has the character of a final peace treaty for all European states (European Peace Treaty).

—Referendum on political unity within a confederation of German states.

—Creation of a uniform German citizenship.

—Internationally binding obligation to participate in the creation of a new international economic order that is based on solidarity.

—Internationally binding obligation to fully realize forms of production that protect the environment.

## Young Christian Democratic Association Founded

*LD0801214890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1548 GMT 8 Jan 90*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The "Young Christian Democratic Association—GDR '40" has been established in Berlin. Its immediate objective, according to the GDR paper BERLINER ZEITUNG, evening edition, consists in maintaining the sovereignty of the GDR against reunification and whipped-up nationalism.

The association intends to develop along the lines of Marxist-Christian humanitarian standpoints. In its first manifesto, it calls for a socialist and sovereign GDR with a social and ecologically determined market economy, free elections on 6 May 1990 based on a democratic electoral law, and free media, as well as a media law. Also called for is a new constitution, the proper punishment of former Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo members and their henchmen, as well as the publication and dissolution of all secret foreign bank accounts. [passage omitted]

## Social Bourgeois Union of Germany Established

*AU1201163990 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 10 Jan 90 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Social Bourgeois Union of Germany"]

[Text] Under the slogan "Toward the reunification of Germany through restructuring in the GDR," an initiative announced the establishment of a center party, the Social Bourgeois Union of Germany (SBU), in Berlin. The members of the initiative are against a sellout of the GDR. They strive for "reunification through an organized and systematic rapprochement between the two German states via a confederation." They reject any form of renewed or democratic socialism in the GDR. A way out of the economic crisis can only be achieved through the introduction of a social market economy, they point out.

### Founding of Christian Social Union Criticized

*AU1201172790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jan 90 p 2*

[Fabian Faber editorial: "White and Blue As a Recipe for Success"]

[Text] Before Christmas, Huber, the secretary general of the Bavarian Christian Social Union [CSU], loudly expressed thoughts about the possibility of establishing a party "to the right of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany" in the GDR, some sort of eastern CSU, which writes German unity and market economy on its flag.

His prayers were heeded. During the weekend, a CSU formed in the Catholic St. Georg parsonage in Wiederitzsch, the northern suburb of Leipzig, a CSU that wants to run for the elections on 6 May with precisely these demands.

DIE WELT reports that there have not been any problems with the program; most of the two dozen men and women in the parsonage "knew the program of the CSU well. This program can be approved without reservations, only a few corrections for the specific GDR conditions have to be made, it was said unanimously." After all, the white and blue bicycle of Franz Josef Strauss (FJS) is still working, "should we invent the bicycle again, or should we not rather buy a tested model?" With their FJS bonus they are already striving for higher things, they are talking about 50-plus percent of the votes and "of course of the majority that will form the government in the future laender parliaments of Saxony and Thuringia."

People in the Munich party headquarters are rubbing their hands. Politically, the CSU is getting a gift, it is whispered, "because after the reunification (!) no chancellor will be able to govern against a strong CSU in the economic centers of Bavaria, Saxony, and Thuringia."

### Panel Hears Evidence on Payments to Athletes

*LD2501193390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1747 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Top GDR sports people received bonuses from a special fund for good positions in international championships. There was between M 25,000 and 35,000 for a gold medal in Seoul. This was revealed at a hearing by the ad hoc Committee of the People's Chamber Committee for the Investigation of Abuse of Office, Corruption, and Personal Enrichment in Berlin today. The committee familiarized itself with practices in GDR sport inter alia:

The committee heard the former state secretary, Professor Guenter Erbach, and his deputy, Prof. Edelfrid Buggel, on the position of the former State Secretariat for Physical Education and Sport within top-class sport in the GDR, as well as on other issues. The special fund for the promotion of top-class sport played a large role in the hearing, for which M30.5 million were made available every year. Social security for sportsmen and trainers were to be provided as well as material stimulus. According to Prof. Erbach a small circle disposed of this money, including the former DTSB [German Gynmastics and Sport Federation] president, DTSB vice presidents for top-class sport and the former head of the Sport Department of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee. An interest-free loan to the tune of M195,000 was made available to former DTSB Vice President Volker Raenke to build a house for which there were signatures from the former state secretary. He had not known about the amount in detail. His mistake had been not checking this procedure, Prof. Erbach said.

Prof. Erbach, who was state secretary from 1973 until the end of last year, stated that there was a direct line in sport to the SED leadership. The decisions on basic principles were taken by the secretaries of the SED Central Committee responsible—earlier by Verner and afterward by Krenz. The relationship between the DTSB and the State Secretariat was often characterized by tensions, but it was ensured that these conflicts were not held in public. Sport sciences also came into conflict with the directorial instructions of the old DTSB leadership.

The one-sided orientation toward top-class sport at the expense of mass sport had started after the 1968 Mexico City Olympics with the aim of doing better in the medal charts than the FRG 4 years later in Munich. This fateful decision on concentration was then retained in subsequent years.

### Report on 1975 Nuclear Power Station Failure

*LD2501232490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1932 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection has sent a report to ADN on the breakdown at the Greifswald Nuclear Power Station in the GDR during which Block 1 had to be shut down in 1975.

According to this, there was a short circuit in a 6-kilovolt switching device. The cause was a circuiting mistake by an electrician. Through the failure of the automatic cut-out, a strong short-circuit current flowed for several minutes. A large number of electric cables were destroyed in the fire caused by this. No one was injured.

It is stressed in the summary of the report that at all times during the breakdown nuclear fission was safely stopped, and that the cooling of the area of fission was guaranteed at all times. There had been no damage to the nuclear fuel, the reactor or the primary cycle. "The release of radioactivity into the surrounding area was raised by the temporary opening of the safety valves on the pressure retainer, but remained below permitted limits.

It is also stated that the cooling systems were restricted in their functions. The emergency cooling pumps had worked to the necessary extent and the emergency feed

pumps of the secondary cycle after the creation of a provisional arangement. The operating personnel had behaved logically and calmly at all times.

After the investigation by independent exerpts and the state supervisory authorities, fire-prevention measures were carried out on the electrical supply grids. The safety valves were exchanged "for types of greater reliability from West Germany." As an internal emergency protection measure, a link in the emergency provision of feed water was created to the neighboring block.

### Reform Working Group Urges Market Economy

*LD1101221990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1835 GMT 11 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—An economic reform working group, set up by the government, spoke in favor of a market economy in the GDR in Berlin today. The head of the commission, Wolfram Krause, said at a news conference that the proposals for immediate and longer-term measures will be submitted to the Council of Ministers next week.

The comprehensive package of measures on economic reform is a result of a week of consultations among academics, people from enterprises, members of ministries, lawyers, and representatives of the parties and groups taking part in the roundtable.

The goals of the proposals, Krause said, are the legal and economic independence of enterprises, with profit sharing for the workers, the regulating influence of the state, which concentrates on strategic and structural framework conditions, and stabilizing measures in the process of reproduction in order to create the conditions for a market economy. He stressed that in the course of the reform, risks having negative social effects must be counteracted.

### Chamber Commission Urges New Constitution

*LD1101210290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1759 GMT 11 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today in Berlin, the People's Chamber Commission for Changes and Amendments to the Constitution spoke in favor of the drawing up of a completely new GDR Constitution. After a plebiscite, a new Constitution could be available in autumn at the earliest, stated Professor Manfred Muehlmann of the National Democratic Party of German [NDPD], who presented the report of the body that was constituted in December last year to the highest people's representation.

The new law was to promote the far-reaching revolutionary changes in the society of the GDR with juridical means and was to focus on the individual with his dignity and freedoms. The present Constitution was determined decisively by Stalinist positions, Prof. Muehlmann said. It can only be kept with a limited functional capacity by changes and amendments.

Up to now, the commission has received around 500 letters and proposals that range up to complete draft constitutions. The point of view of the commission is: "repairs" should only take place to the extent necessary. This concerns the drawing up of an electoral law as well as economic legislation. Changes that go further only lead to constitutionally incomplete legal work without removing the principle shortcomings.

Prof. Muehlman spoke in detail about the cooperation with the roundtable constitution commission. He stated that they are exchanging the results of their work.

### Security Group Promises Demilitarization

*LD1101214790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1349 GMT 11 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A "demilitarization of the Security Study Group," SES, has constituted itself in Berlin. It sees itself as an institutionally and party-politically independent scientific association and is in favor of national and international research cooperation in the sphere of European security.

Through its scientific activities, it intends to cooperate in the development of supra-bloc cooperative and relations of coexistence of a type of security partnership between the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe states.

The SES intends to draw up studies and statements on the demilitarization of international relations, on the reciprocal relationship of military aspects of international security and their political, ecological, economic, scientific-technical and humanitarian factors, as well as on the critical analysis of the military and security policies of the alliance systems and their member states, in particular the GDR.

The study group is prepared to take on policy consultations for parties, social organizations, and other interested bodies, as well as to research briefs.

### Interior Minister on Change in Citizenship Law

*LD1101232690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1529 GMT 11 Jan 90*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—GDR citizenship will in the future only be lost if a citizen renounces it. Interior Minister Lothar Ahrendt (SED-PDS) [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] told the People's Chamber in Berlin today in the first reading to amend the GDR citizenship law. So far, GDR citizenship could be lost through release from citizenship, revoking of conferment of citizenship, and deprivation of citizenship.

Interior Minister Ahrendt described the change to the law as a further step toward expanding and strengthening the rule of law and the certainty of the law in the process of the indispensible democratic renewal of society. [passage omitted]

The new regulation does not prevent citizens who no longer feel any affinity with the GDR, and in line with their free choice, having renounced citizenship, from entering the GDR as foreigners or reapplying for citizenship on returning to the GDR.

People's Chamber President Maleuda proposed that the amendment to the law should be addressed in a second reading at the 15th People's Chamber session after being thoroughly examined by all deputies.

### New Electoral Law Outlined in People's Chamber

*LD1101224190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1721 GMT 11 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The "previously implausible, completely deformed electoral system" in the GDR is to be eliminated by a new electoral law that is now being prepared. People's Chamber Deputy Dr. Paul Eberle (LDPD) [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] gave a briefing about this today in Berlin at the 14th session of the People's Chamber.

Representatives of all parties represented in the parliament and experts from all parliamentary groups had worked on the draft of the law. Basic questions had been discussed intensively and for a long time, and the experiences of other countries, including the FRG, had been utilized. The People's Chamber commission had also received hundreds of tips and proposals from citizens and groups, with the result that a draft for the People's Chamber elections could be completed by 4 January. It contains variants between a pure proportional representation and a combined electoral law. Eberle said that draft laws had also been drawn up for elections to the other people's representations.

As part of the political development of an informed opinion of the people in a democratic state under the rule of law, elections should be the expression of real people's sovereignty. The people are sovereign, the citizen stands in the center. "He is no longer an object. He ought to be and must be the active and electorally deciding subject of decisions under electoral law," Dr. Eberle emphasized.

In this way, single lists of candidates would be eliminated, as would the parity of parties and mass organizations. This ensures that the voter has the possibility of making a free decision between various parties, associations, programs and persons according to his own inner conviction. Each favoring of one party or association and the candidates nominated by them would be eliminated. No party or association has the guarantee of a majority or mandates in a previously established number. The only reliable method of helping the candidate to be elected lay in the power of conviction of the program and the selection of the candidate, the speaker said. The secrecy of the ballot, the transparency and the public control of all official polls will be strictly guaranteed.

In the future, the People's Chamber will consist of 400 deputies, who would be elected for 4 years. For example, 280 could be elected on the principle of proportional representation, and 120 on the first-past-the-post system in direct election by the people. Each voter has two votes. With the first vote he elects a candidate in a constituency, and the second vote he gives for a list, similar to the FRG system. The commission proposed 15 constituencies for the People's Chamber elections in accordance with the area structure. All voters will have to use polling booths. "Outside financing" is also prohibited.

After the explanations, deputies criticized the fact that the draft law was known to the roundtable but not to them. People's Chamber President Maleuda announced that the draft would be presented to all deputies tomorrow.

### Plans Outlined for People's Chamber Elections

*LD1101213390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1452 GMT 11 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber elections are to take place on 6 May this year. The highest people's representation will make a relevant proposal to the Council of State. The election period up to then will, therefore, end on 5 May. The deputies accepted this motion by the Presidium at the 14th People's Chamber session today in Berlin with five votes against and 15 abstentions.

In reply to a question as to why there should only be an election at People's Chamber level, the deputy responsible for drawing up an electoral law, Professor Eberle, replied that one has to take into account various aspects, including also dealing with administrative reform with the creation of states and possibly the restructuring of districts. The government that will arise from a central decision of the people then has to create all the necessary prerequisites for further elections that can take place in the fall or next year.

### Herrmann Activities in Media Criticized

*AU1201164390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jan 90 p 2*

[Unattributed article: "On Our Own Behalf: The 'Usher'"]

[Text] These days one becomes aware that our media have made a new beginning and have probably already covered a modest part of the long march toward enlightened, democratic, and more decent circumstances, even if "Nessie"-like fossils of the imposed black-and-white journalism turn up, like Von Schnitzler on SAT 1 television. However, this has become an exception. It has generally been replaced by the efforts for responsible and differentiated treatment of the innumerable problems that we are facing and that were hardly taken note of in the undamaged world of authoritarian socialism. In this

process, many things are still clumsy, some are half-hearted, and quite a few are worth being criticized. However, being led by the nose by a media tsar and open neglect of simple facts are over.

On the other hand, one man does not belong to the past but is still a member of our party—a man of whom it was said by the basic party organization of the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND editors and publishing house, in the application to initiate proceedings to expel him from the party, that he is "mainly responsible for a failed and fateful media policy," for whitewashing, half-truths, and intolerance, for nauseous adulation of certain people, court reporting, and an overall lack of criticism. We are talking about Joachim Herrmann, who had been a member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] until October and who is the man who—not rarely or just in cooperation with Erich Honecker—decided what had to be assessed in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, in other papers, or on "his" television in Berlin-Adlershof in which way, what had to be celebrated, and what had to be condemned.

Examples of this are legion, and these examples have not only caused the deformation of information but—and this also involves joint responsibility! —the defamation of people, opinions, and characters. At the time of Herrmann's battles in media policy, his interference often reached as far as details: terms to be used for certain events; the ordering of headlines; the positioning of photographs; the positioning of reports—actually Herrmann was an "usher" and some journalists tried to escape this atmosphere in the long run by means of cynicism, schizophrenia, or corrupted silence.

Preventing the restoration of such conditions also requires coming to terms with the past of our media. The "usher" played a fateful role in it. An entire profession was damaged by his orders. Therefore, we ask how long the "usher" can still keep his place in a party that is moving from the SED to the Party of Democratic Socialism? In this respect, too, time is of the essence.

## Last Year's Harvest Below Target Level

*AU1201165990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jan 90 p 3*

[ADN/ND report: "1989 Yield Below Average"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN/ND)—The 1989 harvest yielded below-average results, in particular because of the long-lasting drought. According to the State Central Statistical Administration, the overall yield of crop production was higher than in 1988, but the planned targets were not achieved. Thus, the preliminary result (in grain equivalent units per hectare) is 46.8; 50 units were planned. In 1988, 45.7 were achieved. The average of the 1984-88 period was 49.3.

The effects of the drought on crop production were very different in the various areas. The level of the yield and the overall yield of all kinds of crops, except for oil plants, were affected. The greatest losses occurred with root crops—potatoes, sugar beets, and fodder beets—but losses of green fodder from fields and from pastures are also considerable. A total of 44 decitonnes per hectare of grain were harvested. This corresponds to a total yield of 10,816 million tonnes. Potato yield amounted to 211, and that of sugar beets to 285 decitonnes per hectare.

The planned state procurement for supplies to the population has been quantitatively secured for grain and potatoes. The national economic plan for state procurement of sugar beets, and thus the planned production of white sugar from beets, cannot be completely fulfilled. Sufficient sugar will be produced for the demand of the population, exports will have to be reduced.

The fodder demand for livestock production cannot be completely covered from domestic crop production and the planned imports until the harvest of 1990. This applies both to concentrated fodder, such as grain and root crops, and to coarse fodder—green fodder from fields and pastures. The additional imports of 1.5 million tonnes of grain contribute to balancing the fodder balance to a great extent, but not in every enterprise and not in every region.

## Modrow Plans Visit to USSR 30 Jan

*LD2501204590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2026 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government's press and information service told ADN that Premier Hans Modrow will go to Moscow on 30 January for a working visit. Modrow is responding to an invitation from Mikhail Gorbachev, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

## Maleuda, Soviet Ambassador Discuss Ties

*LD1801203790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1652 GMT 18 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today in the GDR Parliament building, USSR Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov briefed People's Chamber President Dr. Guenter Maleuda about experiences from the work of the Supreme Soviet after the second session of the Congress of People's Deputies.

It emerges from a press statement that views on the parliamentary work in the Soviet Union and in the GDR were exchanged with great mutual understanding and that questions of the further shaping of interparliamentary relations between our states were discussed.

Maleuda had received an invitation to the People's Chamber to pay a visit to the USSR and its parliament in the first quarter. With the same sincerity he extended an invitation to the Supreme Soviet to visit the GDR and the People's Chamber.

### Communications Cooperation With USSR Discussed

*AU1201160590 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 10 Jan 90 p 1*

[NZ/ADN report: "Ministers for Post and Telecommunications Hold Talks"]

[Text] The ministers for post and telecommunications of the GDR and USSR, Klaus Wolf and Erlen Pervyshin, held talks in Moscow yesterday [9 January]. During the talks, they coordinated their standpoints on cooperation in the sphere of communication engineering, aimed at the expansion of the telecommunications systems in the two countries. A committee of experts will meet during the next few weeks to discuss specific steps in research and production.

To improve the receipt of the range of television programs for citizens in the GDR, the possibility was discussed that the GDR might be permitted to use a Soviet communications satellite in 1992.

### Modrow, Kohl To Meet Before Bonn Visit

*AU2501165190 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 20-21 Jan 90 p 1*

[ADN report: "Modrow To Meet Chancellor Kohl in Davos"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow and Chancellor Helmut Kohl will meet before their planned meeting in Bonn in mid-February. As government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer confirmed to ADN, the two politicians will meet on the sidelines of the world economic forum, which is privately organized in Davos in Switzerland every year.

### Modrow Meets Head of FRG Chancellor's Office

*LD2501150890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1349 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow received FRG Chancellor's Office head Rudolf Seiters for a talk in Berlin on Thursday afternoon. The discussion in the Council of Ministers Building was in preparation for Modrow's visit to Bonn next month. Seiters arrived in the GDR in the morning for a 2-day visit, during which he will also meet representatives of opposition parties and groupings.

In response to a question from journalists concerning his further membership in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party For Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], Modrow affirmed his position expressed at the roundtable. He stated there that he is obliged to no party but holds responsibility to the people of the GDR as premier. The pain barrier in the new formation of the government cannot yet be determined. One should first of all hold talks with the opposition, Modrow noted, in order to fetermine the possibilities for consensus. To express oneself beforehand would not be objective and would be unfair, and he expects a fair offer from the opposition. His own fairness is assured.

Asked about hopes for the further existence of the SED-PDS, he pointed to a meeting of the district chairmen of this party tomorrow, Friday, at which questions on the present and the future are due to be dealt with.

### Intensive Talks Held

*LD2501181190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1626 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The FRG has a direct interest in advances in and in stabilizing the process of democratization in the GDR. Federal Chancellory Minister Rudolf Seiters stated this today at a news conference in the FRG's permanent mission in Berlin. It is a question of doing what is necesary before 6 May to give the population of the country prospects for the future that persuade them to stay, and in building up a free political and economic order.

During his meeting with Premier Hans Modrow, there had been open, intensive talks on the problems facing them that are, without doubt, very complicated. The exchange of opinion touched on a wide range of topics. The reform program presented by Hans Modrow contains a number of important elements, according to Minister Seiters.

### Seiters Discusses Talks

*LD2501204190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1748 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and the head of the FRG Chancellor's Office, Rudolf Seiters, described their 2-and-1/2-hour talk in Berlin today as intensive and open. Seiters said that as a result of the talk, the GDR prime minister will come to Bonn for talks on 13 and 14 February. Modrow will also be accompanied by representatives of the GDR opposition on his visit to the federal capital.

Seiters told the press that from 1 January this year to the present day, 42,506 persons have left the GDR and resettled in the Federal Republic.

He stated Bonn's direct interest in the stabilization of the process of democracy in the GDR. He also reaffirmed a readiness for close cooperation in the economic sphere. He welcomed the GDR's recent announcements, such as those at the German-German economic talks with a view to the mobilization of private capital. Bonn regards these as being quite important steps. It is a "joint and very important task to do everything possible so that prospects are opened up to people that cause them to stay in the GDR." No one can be interested "in a bloodletting that makes overcoming the problems in the GDR more difficult from day to day and from week to week."

Prime Minister Hans Modrow said that so far there has not been a government either in the GDR or in the FRG that has had to get through such an amount of legislative work in such a short space of time. At the meeting planned for mid-February in Bonn, he hopes to make a further important stride forward that will give the citizens "security and persuade them to see the GDR as their home and also to continue to shape their lives here." The questions of the two German states cannot be detached from general European problems. A treaty-based community between the two German states "is, in my understanding, also characterized by confederative features," Modrow continued.

Asked about thoughts of suspending his membership in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism until the election date of 6 May, he said: "The source of these rumors is clearly not a new one." The general secretary of the Christian Democratic Union has already once resigned his chairmanship of the coalition. Now he is resigning someone else from his party. This was not a proper way to dealing with one another.

Seiters said that the federal government will use every opportunity to press for continuation of the reform process in the GDR. If so many people are continuing to leave the GDR this was due to people's uncertainty in the first weeks of January. Here he recalled the events surrounding the state security service. The large number of resettlers is a bloodletting that worsens the chances for a lasting improvement in the GDR economy, if it continues. This is why prospects are urgently required, and it is chiefly the GDR that has to do something here. Seiters also mentioned a series of confidence-building measures, such as security under the law, equal opportunities for all parties, and rapid effective steps for an efficient market economy. To these perspectives must be added the hope of state unity in peace, which an increasing number of people in the GDR regard as being decisive for their future.

The federal government continues to be prepared for close economic cooperation, expert advice, and material assistance. His country will not introduce a pause for thought or a break in the talks and negotiations. Seiters welcomed the reform plans in the economic sphere announced at the first meeting of the German-German economic commission and confirmed by Modrow today. It is a program that the federal government believes contains correct elements. Here, Seiters emphasized the guarantee of completely free trading for private companies and investment-promoting tax legislation.

During Modrow's working visit to Bonn on 13 and 14 February, the political and economic framework conditions essential for the stabilization of the democratization process in the GDR will also be on the agenda. Minister Seiters reaffirmed the federal government's view that the treaty-based community can certainly be discussed at the meeting, but that a ratification is only possible after the elections on 6 May. The first steps and the first preparatory work for the treaty-based community should take place now, however, if the opposition in the GDR is also in agreement with this. It is most important for the federal government to take the opposition into consideration in all decisions.

### New Phone Lines, FRG Papers Announced

*AU2001163290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 90 p 1*

[ADN/ND report: "For the First Time 100,000 New Telephone Connections for 1990"]

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN/ND)—What Post Minister Dr. Klaus Wolf disclosed at a news conference in Berlin on Tuesday [16 January] made people sit up: FRG papers will be imported very soon; violations of the secrecy of the post belong to the past; for the first time 100,000 telephone connections are planned per year; German postal authorities want to become a profit-oriented state enterprise. [passage omitted]

### First German-German Newspaper Founded

*AU1101205090 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 9 Jan 90 p 2*

[ADN report: "First German-German Newspaper"]

[Text] Leipzig—WE IN LEIPZIG is the name of the first common German-German newspaper. On 26 January, all 180,000 households in the city of fairs will be given a free copy. In the beginning, the newspaper will appear weekly; as of mid-April, daily. It describes itself as politically independent, offers a marked service section, and considers itself a service enterprise. WE IN LEIPZIG is financed by Northrhine-Westphalian publisher and editor Mathias Finck. The 30-year-old Finck, together with Leipzig publisher Pedro Feller, also developed the idea of publishing such a newspaper. Investment certificates for the paper can be bought at a nominal value of M500. Certificate holders will be given an opportunity to have a say in the line of their newspaper, a share in the profits, and to elect the management.

### FRG's Warnke on Investments in GDR, EC

*AU1801083590 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 13 Jan 90 p 3*

[Interview with Juergen Warnke, FRG minister of economic cooperation and deputy Christian Social Union chairman, by editor in chief Matthias Schlegel in Bonn; date not given: "Loosening Brakes so That Performance Can Develop"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Schlegel] How do you assess the possibilities of capital investment in the GDR, as they have been discussed so far, that is, shares of up to 49 percent in state-owned and cooperative enterprises in our country?

[Warnke] The GDR has to overcome enormous obstacles on the path toward a social market economy. It is one of the most unfortunate legacies of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany that the private economy structure was almost completely destroyed by the measures in the 1970's. The enormous need for capital, which the GDR has, in order to first replace the hopelessly outdated machines and facilities and, second, to be able to finance environmental protection, can be met only with the abundant financial means of Western Europe and large parts of the world, if the framework conditions are right. This means that there must be an investment protection agreement, which is not yet in sight in a satisfactory form; there must be opportunities for participation, which also include majority shares; certain preconditions under labor law must exist. If this is not the case, nobody will be willing to get involved.

The process has to be developed step by step. The people in the GDR are undoubtedly just as capable as in the FRG, but the brakes that for decades have impeded the full development of this capacity must be removed. A start could be made in smaller enterprises—in the crafts, in the service sector, and in the hotel and catering industry. One probably does not need to particularly promote the crafts. If they could just develop as they like, the GDR citizens would certainly soon recognize the advantages of a market economy based on property. Therefore, I propose to the FRG Government and also to the Free State of Bavaria that we heed the stormy demands by, in particular, the craftsmen from the GDR by helping them with modern training, economic advice, and investments. One will have to see whether the GDR Government is only talking about more market economy or whether it also establishes the concrete opportunities for it.

[Schlegel] What is your position on the GDR's participation in the EC?

[Warnke] I am for close cooperation between the EC and the GDR and the other states in central and Eastern Europe, and I welcome the fact very much that at present we ware working out an agreement on cooperation between the GDR and the EC. The EC has set itself the goal of establishing a European single market by 1993—we will have to make every effort to achieve this within the circle of the current 12 members. However, this single market is not a fortress Europe that isolates itself toward non-members, but, as Germany understands it, it is quite the contrary. Therefore, we will provide the greatest possible access to the common market also to non-EC members. [passage omitted]

## New Railroad Border Checkpoint Planned

*AU1801105090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13-14 Jan 90 p 2*

[ADN report: "New Railroad Border Checkpoint"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—At a first working meeting in Berlin on Friday [12 January], Herbert Keddi, director general of the GDR German Railroads, and Reiner Gohlke, chairman of the board of directors of the FRG Federal German Railroads, discussed topical tasks of the railroads and forms of future closer cooperation. Referring to the high performances of the railroad workers of the German Railroads and the Federal German Railroads over the past weeks, they noted that cooperation is good. Further improvements in railroad traffic are planned. At the end of May, a new railroad border checkpoint between Nordhausen and Kassel is to be opened in Arenshausen (GDR)-Eichenberg (FRG). The planned general agency of the German Railroads on Frankfurt, the metropolis on the Main River, will also contribute to further shaping cooperation.

## FRG Stand on Inclusion in NATO Criticized

*AU1101201490 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 9 Jan 90 p 1*

[Bo Adam commentary: "The GDR a Member of NATO?"]

[Text] Well, one year ago nobody could have foreseen that the democratization and restructuring of societies in Eastern Europe would take place at such a rapid pace. Nobody, not even those who are concerned, knew that. To be exact, however, the basic direction was clear since Gorbachev started the fight against Stalinism in the Soviet Union.

However, it is now coming home to the West that Gorbachev's concept of the common European home was not really taken seriously in the west of the continent, and that hardly any practical conclusions were drawn in the sphere of politics. The result is utter chaos in Bonn and the other European capitals, and immature security-political ideas are being tossed about.

However, the greatest blunder was made by the official of the Christian Democratic Union, Dregger, who simple demanded that the GDR should be incorporated into a slightly changed NATO. Since Dregger is not known to be a joker, one must take this seriously. FRG Foreign Minister Genscher expressed more sensible ideas when he called for early talks on cooperative security structures in Europe and, with a critical view of the coalition partner in Bonn, for the elimination of the wall of missiles and other weapons.

This attitude is in keeping with the "Security Model 2000," which was submitted by Gregor Gysi on behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany- Party of Democratic Socialism. In a 10-point catalogue, practical measures by the two German states were proposed, including a reduction of military service to 12 months, for which it will probably be easy to find a majority in the GDR, and the reduction of the strength of the National People's Army and the Bundeswehr by 50 percent.

One should hope that these proposals will soon be translated into government policy so that negotiations

can soon start at the state level. Otherwise the European calculation will not work out.

### Report on Crime Statistics After Border Opening

*AU1201163790 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 10 Jan 90 p 1*

[ADN/NZ report: "No Special Criminality After Opening of Borders"]

[Text] The GDR People's Police and the other organs of the Interior Ministry believe the most important task in stabilizing order and security in the GDR lies in the process of democratic renewal.

This was stressed by Interior Minister Lothar Ahrendt in Berlin yesterday [9 January] at a meeting of leaders of various departments. He stated that, in general, there is great interest in advancing the process of restructuring without violence. The security partnerships have turned out to be particularly useful. However, the phenomenon that parties and civic movements no longer want to assume responsibility is being increasingly noted.

There have been no particular incidents concerning general criminality in the GDR, Ahrendt pointed out. However, an increase in neo-Nazi threats and graffiti, as well as a rise in the import of narcotics can be noticed. He will meet in January with FRG Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble in Bonn, Ahrendt announced.

### Drug Smuggling Increases

*AU2501155290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 Jan 90 p 6*

[ADN report: "Customs Authorities Uncover 78 Cases of Drug Smuggling"]

[Excerpts] The members of the GDR Customs Administration instituted more than 5,600 criminal proceedings for violations of the customs and foreign exchange import and export regulations in December. Articles valued at M1.4 million and currency valued at approximately M1 millon had to be confiscated. [passage omitted]

In 78 cases, attempts to import or export 588 grams [figure as published] of drugs, which were hidden in very small cases or in clothes, were thwarted by random customs examinations. Imports of firearms increased. Three pistols, 48 gas and blank cartridge pistols, and more than 1,800 units of ammunition were seized.

### Contacts Established With GATT in Geneva

*LD2501230690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1759 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Geneva (ADN)—This week, first contacts were taken up in Geneva between the GDR and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). During an exchange of opinion, Ambassador Dr. Peter Dietze, the GDR's permanent representative in Geneva, briefed GATT General Director Arthur Dunkel on far-reaching changes in the society and economy of the GDR, which have also led to an increasing liberalization of foreign trade relations. A result of this is the GDR's interest in the activities and experiences of GATT as the most important agreement for world trade under international law. General Director Dunkel assured his support for the GDR's concerns and spoke about focal points of current GATT work.

The contacts between the GDR and GATT are to be continued.

### Fischer Receives Council of Europe Director

*LD2501175990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1552 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Extensive democratization, the complete guaranteeing of human rights, and the development of a state based on the rule of law are favorable factors for the GDR's rapprochement to the Western European organizations of integration. GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer made this assessment today in Berlin to Hans-Peter Furrer, political director in the general secretariat of the Council of Europe.

The GDR viewed the Council of Europe as an important partner in the building up of the common European home and was interested in having special guest status in the Council of Europe. In relations to the Council of Europe, the oldest organization of integration on our continent, it saw a possibility of contributing to European cooperation and to the overcoming of the division of Europe in a qualitatively new way. Foreign Minister Fischer cited human rights, the environment, the health service, culture, education, youth, and sport as possible areas of cooperation. A logical consequence of such relations would be for the GDR to be a member of the Council of Europe.

Director Furrer spoke about the tasks and structures of the Council of Europe and about the position of this organization toward the development of the relations vis-a-vis the socialist countries. He emphasized for his part the interest in sounding out possibilities for the development of the Council of Europe's cooperation with the GDR.

Director Furrer is in the GDR on a working visit at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His program has also scheduled talks and meetings in the Ministries of Culture, the Environment, and Justice, as well as talks with representatives of parties.

### Modrow Receives Tanzania's Nyerere

*LD1401175190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1652 GMT 14 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Speaking to GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow, Julius Nyerere, chairman of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, expressed the hope that the changing relationship between the two German states

would not be to the detriment of North-South dialogue. He was received by the GDR premier in Berlin on Sunday [14 January].

During the meeting, Hans Modrow informed the guest about the far-reaching democratic renewal in the GDR. Julius Nyerere, who is also chairman of the North-South Commission and is in the GDR for the first time, expressed his great interest in the changes. Both politicians reaffirmed their intention further to develop bilateral relations.

GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer was also present at the meeting.

### Nyerere Ends Visit

*LD1501145290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1306 GMT 15 Jan 90*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—At the center of his meetings with leading representatives of the state, government, and parties of the GDR is the desire to learn about the latest political developments in Eastern Europe, especially in the GDR. This was emphasized today by Dr. Julius K. Nyerere, chairman of the North-South Commission of the Nonaligned Movement and chairman of the Party of the Revolution of Tanzania (CCM), at a Berlin news briefing. There is great interest in the countries of the South in the continuation of the traditionally reliable relations with the Eastern European countries. [passage omitted]

Earlier, Nyerere was received by the acting GDR Council of State chairman Professor Dr. Manfred Gerlach. He also conducted talks with Dr. Guenther Maleuda, president of the People's Chamber and chairman of the DBD [Democratic Peasant Party], Lothar de Maiziere, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], and Dr. Gregor Gysi, chairman of the SED-PDS [SED-Party of Democratic Socialism]

The CCM chairman, paying his first visit to the GDR, ended his visit today.

### Nemeth To Run as Socialist Party Candidate

*LD2501120290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] A piece of news has come this morning, according to which Premier Miklos Nemeth has accepted the call of the Socialist Party's Borsod-Abauj-Zempleni county election office and has undertaken to lead the Socialist Party's county list. The premier also greeted with pleasure the fact that at the initiative of the citizens in the county's number 11 electoral constituency, he has been nominated as National Assembly deputy.

### Szuros, Nemeth Nominations Detailed

*LD2501140190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Matyas Szuros, acting president of the Republic, has become Puespoekladany's National Assembly deputy. According to the county Hajdu-Bihar election office of the Hungarian Socialist Party, yesterday more than 750 nominating slips were collected in support of Matyas Szuros.

Premier Mikhlos Nemeth is heading the county Borsod-Abauj-Zempleni list of the Hungarian Socialist Party. Alongside this, he also was nominated National Assembly deputy in the county's number 11 electoral district.

### MSZMP Briefs Press on Election Preparations

*LD2501204390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] [Announcer] The December Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] was unable to conclude its work. Therefore it considered necessary its continuation, which we may describe as the second round. The press' staff members, among them our reporter Janos Hollos, were briefed about this and about the election preparations.

[Hollos] The MSZMP's 14th Congress will continue this weekend in the Construction Workers' building. At the so-called second session they will talk about the MSZMP's election concepts. Apart from this, the delegates are expected to adopt a political statement about whose content, after a certain amount of secrecy, I managed to find out the following:

According to the MSZMP's draft resolution—and I quote—in this country by now it is less and less a question of the problems of democratization. It is much more a question of a right-wing shift, a bourgeois restoration, the real danger of the restoration of capitalist relations.

Apart from this the MSZMP is anxious about the extremes that have appeared in society. For this reason, in place of political, racial, and religious discrimination, and the manipulation of public opinion, it recommends social stability, legality, and public order.

At the press briefing it was also said that the MSZMP has continued to gather strength. While in December the party had 65,000 members, by now there are 82,000. At the elections they want to field a candidate in every constituency, and today it looks if they will manage it, too.

Among the better known personalities, Karoly Grosz will not be running, whereas Janos Berecz will. As for Gyula Thurmer, chairman, he will be the candidate for County Veszprem.

Finally, according to the chairman, the MSZMP has come out of its international isolation. As he said, the CPSU Central Committee has invited him to Moscow. Apart from this they have established links with several other communist parties as well.

At the news conference, which had been heralded as international, interest was, incidentally, rather sparse. Apart from the eight or so Hungarian journalists, the only foreign participant was a TASS reporter.

### Zoltan Gal To Head Interior Ministry

*LD2501153490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] The government has charged Zoltan Gal, state secretary [for the Ministry of the Interior], with heading the Ministry of the Interior. This was announced at a national conference held by the ministry, where Premier Miklos Nemeth informed Ministry of the Interior leaders about the government decisions related to the reorganization of the State Security Service.

### National Assembly Winds Up 3d Day's Session

#### Bank Loan To Finance Deficit

*LD2501142690 Budapest MTI in English 1333 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Budapest, January 25 (MTI)—Parliament has authorized the minister of finance to raise a short-term loan of 33,000 million forints from the National Bank of Hungary to finance the 1989 budget deficit.

Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi said the loan was necessary as last year's budgetary balance deficit will total 53,000-54,000 million forints, as compared to the planned 21,000 million.

Financing a deficit of this size is inconceivable without a loan from the National Bank of Hungary. The budget cannot acquire such a sum from other sources such as issuing securities, he said.

#### Bekesi on Budget Resolution

*LD2501162190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1008 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Discussion of the National Assembly Draft Resolution on the Provisional Financing of the 1989 State Budget

Deficit; at the National Assembly session chaired by Istvan Fodor in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Fodor] The discussion of the National Assembly Draft Resolution on the Provisional Financing of the 1989 State Budget Deficit will take place. The draft resolution can be found in the finance minster's written submission; my fellow deputies have received the submission. Dr. Laszlo Bekesi, Mr. finance minister, has leave to speak.

[Bekesi] Esteemed National Assembly, at the time the 1990 state budget was submitted I informed parliament that beginning in 1990 we plan to carry out a very important change in the system of budget planning and financing. The essence of this change is that 1989 should be the last year the interest expenditures that burden the state budget in the 4th quarter will be carried over to the next year.

At that time I also informed parliament that the size of this cannot be assessed precisely until the final drawing of accounts, but with every certainty, compared to the 21 billion forint budget deficit adopted in the package plan, this quarter's overrun will mean an extra deficit of about 30-33 billion forints for the year 1989.

The final balance can naturally only be drawn in the framework of the final budget accounts, in the knowledge of the account balance of every enterprise and budgetary organ, which, according to custom, may come before parliament somewhere around the middle of the year.

Until then, however, we must provide for financing the budget and maintaining liquidity. Therefore, now it is not a question of approving the preliminary deficit of the 1989 budget. What the government asks authorization for is that until the definitive adoption of the law on final accounts, it should be given provisional authorization to finance short-term Central Bank credits [roevidlejaratu jegybanki hitel]. I ask parliament to grant this authorization. Thank you very much. [Passage omitted: Lazslo Tecsy of county Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg says that over the past decade we have given authorization to one minister after another and our deficit has only gone on growing. It is time to say: Enough is enough. He has lost confidence in this leadership being able to prevent the country's bankruptcy.]

[Fodor] Our fellow deputy, Zoltan Kiraly, asks permission to speak.

[Kiraly] [passage omitted: He says he has not entirely lost trust, though in part he agrees with the previous deputy] I have been informed by a professional source and I would like Mr. minister to reply to this question: Is is true the Finance Ministry has for years been keeping 10 billion forints in a secret deposit account? If yes, then I ask him to tell us what purpose this serves, and why it cannot be used to balance out the budget deficit, or for some other purpose. In so far as the answer is no, then naturally I withdraw the question. Thank you very much. [Passage omitted]

[Fodor] I hand the floor over to the Mr. Minster to give a reply.

[Bekesi] Esteemed National Assembly, I understand Mr. Deputy Laszlo Tecsy's concern, criticism, and I share his conclusions. The government also shares them. Our conviction is that one of the most important conditions for an economic recovery, for a definitive stop to the previous erroneous economic policy, is that we give a completely clear picture regarding every sphere, thus in the sphere of giving an account of the budget and state finances. This is what the government has undertaken, this is what it is taking consistently through to the end, and this is what we clearly told you when submitting the budget for 1990, at the December session. Therefore, as compared to what we disclosed to parliament in December, there is no new situation. True, what was characterstic of the past approximately 10 years was that every year, we carried over to the following year, without fault and to a full extent, the state interest burdens of the 4th quarter.

Without doubt there were technical reasons for this, but owing to the increasing stock of debts, it was possible in this manner to spare the budget for the given year, to an extent which accorded with the scale of growth. This is unquestionable. The debt burdens—thus the interest burdens as well—are increasing. And this carrying over of the 4th quarter—which otherwise is not unusual and is a general practice in the world, although at the most it does not happen owing to a growing debt burden and the associated growing interest burdens—did not constitute a problem in Hungary until a full and itemized account and presentation was given of the external and internal state debt.

We faced up to giving this account. You know we gave an account of the entire external state debt to parliament and, in acordance with this, an account of the internal state debt, too. After this, we have neither the right nor the means not to burden the true year in question with the interest burdens of the current budget's 4th quarter. However, a viewpoint also was that we should compile our 1990 budget in a clear manner, as a balance of the current year's revenues and outlays, that it should not be burdened by any legacy carried over from the past. This is the explanation as to why we are abolishing this carrying over the 4th quarter precisely in 1990, and in the year of transition to the 1990 budget.

In his contribution Deputy Laszlo Tecsy said the December prognosis spoke about 49-50 billion forints, as opposed to the 21 billion which were approved in the package plan containing the carrying over of the 4th quarter and 1989 interest-burdens of the entire state debt, while the current prognosis, even before closing the final rendering of accounts, speaks about 53-54 billion. I ask you not to forget that in the final 2 weeks of

December, the population paid altogether 26.5 billion forints, to repay in one sum the preferential credit loans, 45 percent of which are being waived once and for all by the state. This burdens the budget.

There is a larger difference between the two than this. For this reason, although I do not want to foreshadow the final rendering of accounts, and I know that this will not reassure Mr. Deputy Tecsy, I nonetheless will say that as a result of the often criticized economic management in 1989, without the technical carrying over—as opposed the 21 billion budget deficit is less than this. It is aproximately 16-17 billion. This resulted from the year-end preferential credit repayment action, and the abolition of the carrying over of interest in the 4th quarter.

Has the deficit grown? It has grown many times. In 1989, I again emphasize, that on the basis of the economic results of the year in question, it decreased. This is not enough. All of us know this. I dispute the allegation that a collapse of the Hungarian economy is unavoidable. This economy is struggling with numerous tensions, millions of signs of crisis, and all of their consequences, but the government still states with responsibility that there is a deep crisis. Yet, a collapse can be avoided. We will continue the struggle for which you authorize us, and we have a good chance that, as a result of the struggle, it will be possible to resolve the country's external funding for this year, and not just for the half year, not just for the period of this government's mandate. We very much hope that in the near future, the agreements, one of whose decisive conditions was an acceptance of the 1990 budget, will come about.

Mr. Deputy Laszlo Tecsy asked where the end to all this is? I again would like to remind the esteemed House of the debate on the 1990 budget, where it emerged more clearly than the light of day that we were beginning to go on the bitter path which served a drastic reduction of the hitherto deficit, and thereby, an improvement of the balance. There could be talk, at the most, of a deficit of 10 billion next year, that is this year; the realization of this objective was served by the stipulations pertaining to every monetary sphere of the economy, to budgetary-fiscal means, and also by the associated action program.

To Mr Deputy Zoltan Kiraly I can say I have no knowledge of any deposit; if there is one, this 10 billion milliards could be utilized for very important objectives. We made a full presentation of state finances to parliament. Figuring in this was not only the central budget, but the regional monetary funds, and the budget's relationship to other spheres, thus the sphere of credits, too. We have no separate deposits, accounts, which might not be accounted for as part of the state finances.

I have to mention another thing. It is a very important and is connected slightly to what Mr. Deputy Laszlo Tecsy said. The issue here is not simply one of the accumulated budget deficit being the result of state spending; we have already reported on this deficit, and it is not 200 billion as Mr Zoltan Kiraly said, but unfortunately it is considerably more. The accumulated budget deficit is approximately 500 billion forints, out of the total state debt of 1,100 billion; we have already reported to you in detail on this.

Do not forget the Hungarian economy is one where the external resources which we used entered the Hungarian economy's circulatory system with the budget's mediation. To make this even clearer: The indebtedness to the tune of 20 billion dollars appears in the deficit of Hungarian state finances, the Hungarian budget. This is the essence of the matter. This 1,100 billion accumulated deficit, and within this, the 500 billion budget deficit, in essence expresses in forints the size of the gross stock of debts to the tune of more than 20 billion dollars, which we reported to parliament.

My final thought: Please, do not misunderstand the government's intention. We are not asking for an advance decision on accepting the final rendering of accounts for 1989, not an adoption of the law on a final account, not an approval of last year's deficit; we are only asking for temporary authorization until the draft law goes before parliament, since until then it will be necessary to finance the budget. We are asking for authorization not for a long-term credit, but only short-term credit. Thank you.

[Fodor] Thank you. Esteemed National Assembly, now we must make a decision. Do you accept the draft National Assembly resolution on provisional financing for the state budget deficit for 1989? Let us vote. [pause while votes are taken] I establish that the National Assembly has accepted the draft resolution.

## Debate on Enterprise Bill

*LD2501185390 Budapest MTI in English 1716 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Budapest, January 25 (MTI)—The National Assembly session continued on Thursday afternoon with the debate over the bill on individual (private) enterprise. The bill was submitted by Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar.

Mr Kulcsar said it is important to increase the share of enterprises based on private property in economy. The various entrepreneurial forms, the state companies, the economic societies, the cooperatives are already regulated by laws. The measures of the law on business associations cover a wide sphere of private enterprises. However, the regulation by law of private enterprises that do not operate in a partnership form is still lacking.

Under the bill, all citizens of age living in Hungary will have the right to enter into enterprise. Local councils are obliged to issue documents permitting the enterprise on the basis of the report made by the entrepreneur, without considerations, in case the entrepreneur meets the conditions set down in the law.

The proposal does not set down whether the entrepreneur will have to have professional qualifications for the given field of the enterprise. However, it makes the entrepreneur responsible for employing persons with the proper qualifications to work in the jobs that require professional qualifications. Accordingly, it is sufficient if the entrepreneur participates in the venture as a manager, or director.

The minister of justice said that parallel to the bill, it is necessary to amend certain measures of the law on business associations. Thus the decree, which states that foreigners can participate in Hungarian ventures only in case they have a registered firm in their own country, will have to be cancelled. This step will considerably facilitate the investments of foreign persons in Hungary.

The bill does not intend to restrict the size of the enterprises with administrative means. Thus the measure under which the number of employees cannot be more than 500 people in case of economic partnerships, will be eliminated.

### Securities Bill Approved

*LD2501225990 Budapest MTI in English 1645 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text]) Budapest, January 25, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian parliament approved the securities bill today. The bill lays down rules for trading securities on the stock exchange and fixes rules for the protection of investors, including a ban on insider trading.

After a two-year experimental phase, the Budapest Stock Exchange is to start operations on March 1.

Stock exchange operations were stopped in Hungary in 1948.

### Secret Service Law Adopted

*LD2501134390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Excerpt] The law which temporarily regulates permission for special secret service means and methods was at last approved about 20 minutes ago. The groups of parties represented in the parliament, independents, and neutral deputies—as they are now known—all agreed that Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar should be able to decide on this question in the future. So, there was no further obstacle to the deputies in deciding on the whole draft. During the vote 14 abstained, but there were no votes against the law.

At the same time, the deputies also decided in a resolution that a committee would be set up to examine the internal security service's activity. There were two versions here, as well. According to one, this body should be composed of representatives from the group of independent deputies. This was rejected. The examining committee will therefore be composed of people delegated, one each, from the parties represented in the parliament, and from the groups of independents and neutrals. The justice minister is obliged to give monthly briefings about his activity to the committee. [passage omitted]

### Stock Exchange Law; Ends

*LD2501230390 Budapest MTI in English 2140 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Budapest, January 25 (MTI)—The third working day of the January session of the Hungarian National Assembly came to an end on Thursday evening.

MPs carried the bills on the public circulation of certain securities and on the stock exchange, and started to discuss the bill on the amendment to the land law.

The session is to continue on Wednesday [as received] with a debate on the latter bill. MPs are expected to decide on the adjourned issues, such as the bills on the protection of state assets, the state asset-handling agency and the private ventures.

### MSZP: SzDSz Exploited Security Scandal

*LD2501190590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] In connection with the phone-tapping scandal, the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] points out that the documents of the internal security service were only exploited for political purposes by a single party—the Alliance of Free Democrats [SzDSz]. This was stated by Spokesman Viktor Polgar at this afternoon's press briefing. As he said, the SzDSz representatives, at earlier discussions held with the MSZP, did not urge matters with regard to rapidly enacting the national security bill.

Regardless of this, the MSZP for its own part would like to close the internal security scandal. At the same time, it proposes that the legal defense of Police Major Jozsef Vegvari, who uncovered the affair, should be guaranteed not by the SzDSz but by the competent organs.

It was also stated at the briefing that the MSZP would lodge a protest against Jozsef Tordjan, member of the National Assembly Election Committee, because he called the party fascist. The spokesman said they had conferred about the situation involving the newspapers owned by the MSZP. They stressed that the Socialist Party insists on its right of ownership, but this does not mean that the individual editorial boards have to pursue party political objectives.

### Szuros: No Mercy for Police Major Vegvari

*LD2501191490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Matyas Szuros, provisional president of the republic, has stated that there is no constitutional possibility of granting mercy to Police Major Jozsef Vegvari. The Federation of Young Democrats and the Alliance of Free Democrats has turned to the head of state with this

request, saying that the police officer was fulfilling his duty as a citizen when he uncovered the phone- tapping affair. Matyas Szuros pointed out in his reply that he can exercise mercy once the court has legally condemned a person. He added that the incident can only be settled on the basis of legality.

### Major Vegvari Discusses Planned Escape

*AU2501212190 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP, in Hungarian 20 Jan p 3*

[Report on interview with Major Jozsef Vegvari by Balazs Stepan in Budapest; date not given: "I Am Terribly Afraid...."]

[Text] I met with Jozsef Vegvari, who is in hiding, in an apartment of a council house in Budapest. He was a radio telegraphist in the Army, and has been working in the Interior Ministry since 1 December 1965.

[Stepan] Do you have any plans about what to do next?

[Vegvari] I prepared a 3-point plan, with a,b, and c subpoints. I am now on the third point, and every step so far has gone according to the plan. I do not feel secure here either, only somewhere abroad in the future.

[Stepan] Did your family know about your plan?

[Vegavari] No, although I started to collect documents and proof 6 months ago.

[Stepan] Did you continue to work after the affair broke?

[Vegvari] Yes. I became isolated there, and I was alone because of my views. People accused me of having petty bourgeois ideas.

[Stepan] What are your colleagues like?

[Vegvari] There are sober-minded people among them, but given this orgnization's special nature, they are as afraid as I am. I betrayed my party organization, my colleagues, and my job. I heard with my own ears when someone said he would riddle the informer with bullets.

[Stepan] Are you afraid?

[Vegvari] Look at my hands. They are sweating from fear.

[Stepan] Are you afraid of someone trying to settle accounts?

[Vegvari] The black car could appear from the dark anywhere....

[Stepan] You packed your things in a military rucksack. What did you bring with you?

[Vegvari] Used clothes and a wig for the escape. It is important not to be recognized until I get to the planned place.

[Stepan] Any weapons?

[Vegvari] I do not have any weapons on me. I cleaned my gun after the service today and handed it over. Perhaps it does not show, but I am terribly afraid because I committed a serious crime....

## CSSR President Havel Begins Official Visit

### Arrival Noted

*LD2501231390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Excerpt] Vaclav Havel has arrived in Budapest. The Czechoslovak president traveled from Warsaw. [passage omitted]

### Meets Slovak Representatives

*LD2601100190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0930 GMT 26 Jan 90*

[Text] Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, who is on an official visit to Hungary, met this morning with representatives of the Democratic Federation of Slovaks in Hungary. Marie Jakab, general secretary of this organization and deputy speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly, briefed him on the position of national minorities in Hungary and on other issues connected with nationality policy.

Shortly before 1000, Vaclav Havel was officially welcomed in front of the parliament. Afterward, he began talks with Matyas Szuros, acting Hungarian president. In the afternoon he will meet representatives of some political parties and will hold a news conference at the end of his visit.

### MTI Reviews Economic Relations

*LD2501142390 Budapest MTI in English 1253 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Budapest, January 25, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, on the eve of his visit to Budapest, has spoken of a new era in relations between Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Speaking to Hungarian journalists in Prague, Mr Havel said that the continuing democratic changes in Eastern Europe are opening new vistas for relations between the various countries, replacing the "formal friendship" of the past with genuine fellowship and cooperation.

Mr Havel will arrive in Budapest later today.

The thorniest issue between Hungary and the previous Czechoslovak Government was the Bos-Nagymaros dam, a joint project which Havel, then an opposition politician, opposed, calling it "a scar on Europe's face." Now that the project is too far advanced to be cancelled entirely, the parties should pool forces to make the best use of it, the Czechoslovak president said.

Havel practically accepted the Hungarian position when he said that the dam will probably be left in its present

state and has abandoned his predecessors' insistence that Hungary go ahead with the construction of the Nagymaros dam despite Budapest's decision to opt out.

Havel said he believed more debate was yet to come between Hungarian and Czechoslovak experts over the dam but expressed the hope that those will be settled to the satisfaction of both sides.

Hungarian-Czechoslovak economic contacts have always been good but have literally blossomed recently.

At the latest Comecon meeting representatives of the Hungarian Government raised the idea of creating a closer economic integration with the involvement of Poland. Czechoslovakia and Hungary, with the possible creation of a free-trade zone.

Despite importing 12.6 per cent more goods from Czechoslovakia last year than in 1988—to a total value of 26.035 billion forints—Hungary still ended the year with a balance surplus of 2.19 billion forints. According to preliminary figures, Hungarian exports valued 28.226 billion forints last year, 6.5 per cent more than a year earlier. The 1990 Hungarian-Czechoslovak trade protocol envisages total trade worth 1.68 billion roubles, as opposed to 1.73 billion last year.

Ikarus buses and various road vehicle components, farm machinery, computers and communications equipment continued to be the main Hungarian exports, while the biggest single Czechoslovakian export item to Hungary last year was 10,000 Skoda Favorit cars, although lorries, tractors and various consumer goods also accounted for a large proportion of deliveries.

### Troop Deployment at Austrian Border To End

*AU2601104890 Paris AFP in English 1037 GMT 26 Jan 90*

[Text] Vienna, Jan 26 (AFP)—Hungary will no longer deploy rapid intervention troops along its border with Austria, Hungarian General Jozsef Biro said at military talks here, reliable sources said Friday. Gen. Biro also detailed forthcoming troop reductions in his country, and said Hungary would no longer produce offensive weapons and would transform its arms industry into a civilian production.

He told a seminar on military doctrines, within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), that "in the future, the Hungarian Army will be deployed the same way throughout the country". Troops "with the highest capacity for rapid intervention" would no longer be concentrated on the Austrian border, the sources quoted him as saying.

Gen. Biro explained that Hungarian military units were broken down into three categories: the first had up to 60 percent of its troops "always prepared for intervention", in the second 30 to 60 percent were ready, and less than 30 percent were kept ready in the third group.

He said reforms called for reducing the Armed Forces by 30 to 35 percent. This would cut the number of troops from 106,000 to 75,000, the number of tanks from 1,400 to 800, and the number of fighter planes from 113 to 80. The size of both Army troops and material "surpassed Hungary's financial capabilities", he said.

The seminar opened here January 16.

### Deputy Chief of Staff Reports on Military Cuts

*LD2501215590 Budapest MTI in English 1900 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Vienna, January 25 (MTI)—Addressing the Thursday session of the Vienna seminar on military doctrines, Brigadier General Jozsef Biro, first deputy chief of staff of the Hungarian People's Army, spoke about the reduction of Hungarian Armed Forces and military budget, and the Army reform. Jozsef Biro is heading the Hungarian delegation to the second stage of the conference which opened on Monday.

The brigadier general said that maintaining the current size of the Hungarian People's Army was not justified by the country's geostrategic position, nor was it allowed by its economic situation. The planned 30-35-percent cut in the Army strength would be accompanied by the strengthening of its defensive traits. Accordingly, the total strength would be reduced from 106,000 to 75,000, the number of tanks from 1,400 to 800, artillery devices from 1,700 to 900, and military aircrafts from 113 to 80. Plans call for the units deployed in western Hungary to be distributed proportionally throughout the country.

Speaking about Hungary's military budget, Jozsef Biro pointed out that the figure had dropped by 33 percent over the past four years, currently at 4 to 4.5 percent of the state budget. Ninety percent of the remaining funds was absorbed by personnel and maintenance costs, with a mere 10 percent left for the purchase of new appliances and weapons. This led to the aging of devices, and made it necessary to retain 20-25-year-old tanks.

### Smallholders Party Demands Soviet Troop Leave

*LD2001142190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Text] [Announcer] Istvan Szelloe reports from the national mass meeting held by the Smallholders Party:

[Szelloe] Party Chairman Vince Voeroes opened the mass meeting, after which Ferenc (Bessenyei) spoke. After this came Imre Mecs' speech, and then the most exciting thing, the first contribution.

The Bolsheviks were those who betrayed the (?holy) October revolution, said Dr Jozsef (Tordjan) at the beginning of his speech. He said: Crimes against the people never become a moot point. He went on: When the Smallholders government is formed, our first act will be to expel the Soviet troops stationed in our homeland and to leave the Warsaw Pact . We must not wait; we

have to act. Since the Hungarian peasantry constitutes four-fifths of the country's population, the peasantry must control four-fifths of power. Smallholders, forward to victory! This is what (Tordjan) said at the end of his speech.

### Soviet Trade Official on Export Restrictions

*LD1901183490 Budapest MTI in English 1333 GMT 19 Jan 90*

[Text] Budapest, January 19, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Eduard Kosobuko, deputy head of the Soviet trade representation in Budapest, while expressing understanding at the Hungarian Government's decision to revoke and re-issue export licences, said in a statement published on Friday that both sides will be adversely affected by the resultant reduction in Hungarian-Soviet trade.

The Soviet partner does not see the move as an outright freeze but merely as an attempt to redress the situation, he added. Negotiations on 1990 bilateral trade are currently stalled over how to meet Hungary's short-term claims of almost 782 million roubles.

With the current economic situation in the Soviet Union such that it cannot do without imports of foodstuffs and consumer articles, Mr Kosobuko confirmed that the machine industry which move will be hit hardest by the move, particularly companies which are dependent on the Soviet market [sentence as received].

The Soviet commercial adviser added that he believes that Hungary is unlikely to adopt the proposal that the Soviets and Hungarians switch over to convertible accounting from 1991.

### 1990 Trade Protocol Signed With GDR

*LD2301111990 Budapest MTI in English 1040 GMT 23 Jan 90*

[Text] Budapest, January 23, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The 1990 trade protocol signed over the weekend envisages 1,979 billion roubles' worth of turnover between Hungary and the German Democratic Republic.

This is the last year such an agreement will be concluded between the two countries, since the development of a market economy will make it superfluous for both countries, Hungarian deputy minister of trade, Dr Piroska Apro, told the Berlin correspondent of the Budapest daily 'NEPSZABADSAG'.

Representatives of the GDR told the Hungarian party they are to switch over to free convertible accounting in two-way trade with Hungary from January 1, 1991.

Hungarian exports will see a decrease of 10.6 per cent in 1990 at comparative prices, working out at 890.3 million rbls. The 7-per-cent fall in Hungarian imports, to 1,011 billion rbls, will be a little less drastic. The decline will partly be due to a decrease in East Germany's industrial production, and partly to a money shortage in the Hungarian economy, Hungarian Ministry of Trade officials said when approached by ECONEWS.

The forecast envisages that half of Hungarian exports will be made up of machine industrial products, whilst over a third will be consumer articles and agricultural produce.

Machine industry products will account for most of Hungary's imports, totalling 590.5 million rbls at current prices. Basic and raw materials will value 374.8 million rbls. This year, Hungary will purchase 16,500 Wartburgs with four-stroke engines and 21,000 two-stroke Trabants.

Preliminary figures disclose that total turnover between the two countries amounted to 2,130 billion rbls in 1989, with Hungarian exports accounting for 1,045 billion. Top of the list of Hungarian exports was the sale of 1,000 Ikarus buses, and Hungary also supplied products worth 70-80 million rbls as sub-contractor to the East German agricultural machine industry.

Hungarian imports, as is traditional, consisted of machine tool products, farming machinery and cars.

## Foreign Minister on USSR's Ethnic Poles

*AU2401200990 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Jan 90 p 1*

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by ZYCIE WARSZAWY reporter "ZAR"; date and place not given: "Question of the Day"]

[Text] [ZAR] One of the first statements you made as head of the Foreign Ministry was a declaration of support for the repatriation of Poles living in the USSR. However, so far there has been no sign of increased interest in the idea on the part of the Poles in the Soviet Union. How do you explain this?

[Skubiszewski] Before joining the government, I called for the creation of opportunities for Poles in the USSR to return to Poland. The idea received the support of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government. The issue was discussed during my talks with Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, and the premier talked about it during his visit to the Soviet Union. It was also discussed with leaders of Polish organizations in the USSR. According to statements made by the USSR leadership, there are essentially no obstacles for Poles who wish to move from the USSR to Poland. It is worth adding that Soviet emigration legislation is in the process of being amended and liberalized. During 1988, 280 Poles received approval to leave permanently for Poland, and the figure for the first 7 months of 1989 was 233. In addition, a certain number of people use their trips to visit relatives in order to spend a longer period of time in Poland.

However, these very low figures are not representative, because they apply to a period when repatriation was still not a major item on the agenda in Polish-Soviet relations. I do not know whether, for example, Poles in Kazakhstan know about the possibility of returning. We are seeking to open a consulate there.

The political and legal changes taking place in the Soviet Union with respect to national, ethnic, and linguistic minorities may have a certain impact on repatriation. This is because these changes provide Poles with an opportunity to maintain their Polish identity where they live, without the need to return to Poland permanently. This opinion was also expressed by Polish activists in the USSR. It should be remembered that returning to Poland primarily interested people who had been deported during the last war. Today we are chiefly dealing with their children and grandchildren, who were already born and raised in the USSR.

There is also the problem of repatriation in a strict sense, that is, a return to native parts in areas that belonged to the Second Republic and now lie within the borders of the USSR: the Vilnius region, Volhynia, Podole, the Lvov region. This is an internal matter for the USSR, but we can talk about it openly and it has been raised.

In any case, a decision about whether to return to Poland or to remain in the USSR is, from our point of view, solely the affair of those concerned. Poland can and will assist Poles living in the Soviet Union, while respecting international law. However, we will not force anything onto anyone, nor will we make decisions on someone else's behalf.

## USSR's Katushev Meets Swiecicki, Balcerowicz

*LD2601054890 Warsaw PAP in English 2355 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 25—Soviet Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev came to hold working talks in Poland today. He fixed the level and proposals of the Polish-Soviet trade turnover this year during a meeting with Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki and during plenary talks.

It is planned that this turnover will considerably fall as compared with last year and particularly the level of Polish investment export will drop. This is linked to the restructuring of production and export.

Both sides discussed the 1990 balance of payments as Poland has a considerable rouble debt to the USSR. The two sides discussed also how to partially switch over to settling accounts in convertible currencies in mutual trade. This year, about 10-15 per cent of the overall value of the turnover is to be settled in dollars on the clearing basis.

The talks covered also important problems of the supplies of such commodities as, for instance, oil and electric energy.

Minister Katushev was received by Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz and both sides discussed assumptions of introducing market mechanism both in bilateral relations and among CMEA countries. The two ministers reviewed also the possibility to reschedule the servicing of Poland's rouble debt towards the USSR beyond the current year.

The guest discussed long-range economic cooperation with Minister-Head of the Central Planning Office Jerzy Osiatynski.

## Minister, Spokeswoman Visit France; Hold Talks

### Financial Agreements Signed

*LD2401214890 Warsaw PAP in English 1900 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[By PAP Correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, Jan 24—Poland's vice premier, Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz, now on a short working visit in France, was received today by general secretary of the Elysee Palace in Paris, Jean Louis Bianco and French President's Special Adviser Jacques Attala. They both showed lively interest in Polish economic problems. Touched upon were also questions of the economic cooperation between Poland and France.

Vice Premier Balcerowicz held talks with French Minister of Finance Pierre Beregovoy. The two signed three important financial agreements.

The first one relates to France's share in the stabilization fund of the zloty. The French Republic resolved to assign 100 million dollars (some 600 million French francs) for the purpose.

The second agreement provides for granting low interest, preferential credits to Poland. France is to give Poland credits of 900 million francs over three years at 2 percent interest rate.

The third agreement relates to launching financial means for training cadres for the Polish economy in France. The French Republic is to assign an adequate sum for that in the form of a credit not to be repaid.

### Balcerowicz Returns, Comments

*LD2501015990 Warsaw PAP in English 2312 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 24—Polish Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz returned home from his brief visit to Paris lasting 24 hours.

Formally, the aim of my visit was to sign three agreements with French Finance Minister Pierre Beregovoy. Balcerowicz told PAP reporter soon after his return today.

"During the talks, we discussed also questions that would be reviewed at the coming meeting of the Paris Club. They are very important for Poland as they concern the indebtedness towards governments of Western countries accounting for two-thirds of Poland's total indebtedness in convertible currencies," the vice-premier said.

"In our stand, we pointed to the need to give Poland relief, as not repaying the indebtedness, at least this year, would help the Polish economy to switch over to new tracks and to accomplish difficult reforms. We plan to start talks with partners in the Paris Club to solve the Polish debt in a long-range way, including by partially reducing it," the vice-premier said.

### Government Spokeswoman Ends Visit

*LD2501015590 Warsaw PAP in English 2159 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[By PAP Correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, Jan 24—Wednesday (24 January] was the third and the last day of the working visit to France by Polish Government Spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska. Today, she was the guest of spokesman of the French Government Minister Louis Le Pensec.

In the Elysee Palace, Malgorzata Niezabitowska studied work of the government spokesman on the occasion of the weekly government session on Wednesday. She had brief talks with French Premier Michel Rocard.

Next, Niezabitowska took part in Louis le Pensec's press conference. She also answered numerous questions asked by French journalists and foreign correspondents.

The Polish Government spokeswoman presented a new information system now existing in Poland. She discussed her own work, the organization of press conferences, the operation of the Government Press Office and of such institutions as the Polish press agency PAP, radio and TV and the RZECZPOSPOLITA government daily. She pointed to good cooperation with these press institutions.

In a statement for PAP, Malgorzata Niezabitowska said that deputy of the Government Press Spokeswoman Henryk Wozniakowski would come to France already in February. Also, employees of the Polish Government Press Office are to be educated in French press institutions.

Sizing up her three-day visit to France, Malgorzata Niezabitowska said that she had met many French politicians and not only these doing press work. She was received both at the French President's office and the premier's office and at the Foreign Ministry. Owing to friendliness of her French interlocutors, she could learn in detail the work of many press services and their specifics. It will certainly be possible to use more than one of these experiences in Poland.

Malgorzata Niezabitowska returned home today.

### Rakowski Meets With Willy Brandt, SPD's Vogel

*LD2301190390 Warsaw PAP in English 1812 GMT 23 Jan 90*

[Text] Bonn, Jan. 23—PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC [Central Committee] 1st Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, now on a one-day visit here, held talks today with Honorary President of the Socialist International Willy Brandt.

Rakowski also met with SPD [Socialist Party of Germany] leader Hans-Jochen Vogel and vice chairman of the SPD parliamentary faction Horst Ehmke.

Mieczyslaw Rakoski briefed the German politicians on preparations for the 11th PUWP congress, on a planned shape of a new party and its programmatic assumptions as well as assessed the political situation in Poland.

### Janowski Received by PRC's Li

*LD1801204390 Warsaw PAP in English 1943 GMT 18 Jan 90*

[Text] Beijing, Jan 18—Vice-Premier Jan Janowski who heads a Polish delegation to the 5th session of the Polish-chinese Committee of Cooperation in Economy, Science and Technology, was received on Thursday by Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng.

Janowski briefed the Chinese prime minister on political transformations now going on in Poland, and on reforms of the Polish economic system.

Li Peng said his government would like to maintain good relations with Poland and spoke about the reforms of the Chinese economy.

They pointed to the purposefulness of turning to the free-currency trade exchange and stressed the need to expand joint economic undertakings in all forms.

Vice-Premier Jan Janowski conveyed to Prime Minister Li Peng greetings from President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

On the same day, Jan Janowski who is member of the Democratic Party CC Central Committee] Presidium, met with Vice-Chairman of the China Democratic League CC Qian Weichang to discuss possibilities of inter-party cooperation.

### Ties With Israeli Remembrance Institute Discussed

*LD2501233790 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2158 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 25: The head of the main commission for investigating Nazi crimes in Poland—National Remembrance Institute, Dr Jozef Musiol met today with head of the Israeli interest section in Poland Ambassador Mordekhai Palzur.

Their talk focused on ways of stepping up cooperation between the Yad Vashem Remembrance Institute of Jerusalem and Israeli scientific circles and the Polish main committee.

One of such ventures is the well-advanced work on an encyclopedia of martyrdom, struggle and annihilation of Polish Jews. The book is being prepared by Polish and Israeli scholars to be published in Poland.

The two men devoted much attention during their talk to ways of counteracting attempts to belittle the crime of holocaust perpetrated on the Jewish nation, and to put into doubt the scale of extermination of the Poles. Such attempts are made increasingly often by historians and media in some countries.

### New GATT Membership Terms Sought

*LD2501232990 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2049 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Geneva, Jan 25—Poland today officially asked the GATT council to change the terms of Polish membership in the GATT because of the transition of the Polish economy from central planning to a market system.

The report came from the GATT headquarters here. According to delegates to the ongoing session of the GATT council, where the Polish motion was presented, the move was received with satisfaction by other GATT members. The U.S., in particular, gave its firm support to the request.

### Walesa Interviewed on Future, Europe

*LD1401173790 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2336 GMT 12 Jan 90*

[Text] Vienna, Jan 12—"The time of great shows, which we staged in 1980, is gone," said Lech Walesa in an interview with the "WOCHENPRESSE" weekly and added that "the demonstrations were necessary for starting the reforms. Now we need improvement of the state of the economy and new technologies. We also must become competitive. We will not achieve that through demonstrations."

Comparing the events in Poland with those in other countries of the Eastern bloc, the "Solidarnosc" chairman said that Poland went long way ahead in the sphere of legislation and organisation.

Asked about his attitude towards the unification of Germany, Walesa said that divisions are ridiculous. "Be it the division of Korea or Germany, one should depart from such ideas. Yet, it cannot take place at the expense of others. One should seek new solutions, towards Europe without frontiers," Walesa said.

### Kuron Admits 'Defeat' on Food Prices

*LD1601224590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 16 Jan 90*

[Text] As on every Tuesday, Jacek Kuron, minister of labor and social policy, appeared before the television cameras. I would like to start by owning up to what one might call a defeat, he stated at the beginning. One must admit to oneself that today, according to various polls, more than 40 percent of families say that their diets are worse and that they have great difficulties in maintaining their level of consumption. I do not intend to make excuses for myself by saying that I based myself on the available prognoses and calculations. Food prices rose unexpectedly, Jacek Kuron continued. Madness on the market ensued, provoked in part by hysteria, but primarily following the monopolization of trade and also a series of irresponsible activities. The intervention bureau of the government is constantly in session on this matter, Jacek Kuron, minister of labor and social policy, said in his television address.

### Medicine Prices Rise 100-900 Percent

*LD1601225990 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2204 GMT 16 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 16—Officials prices of nearly 80 medicines go up between 100 and 900 per cent as of January 17, the Finance Ministry said today.

The rise has been dictated by the quickly rising rate of the dollar to the Polish zloty which increased the cost of imported components, the ministry said.

Generally, other official prices are not expected to rise in the near future, nor are prices of other commodities determining the tempo of inflation, fuels for one, the communique said.

### Pension, Annuity Protests Continue in Bialystok

*LD2401154290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[Excerpt] Protests by pensioners and annuitants are continuing for the third day in the Bialystok Voivodship office. The action is supported by the KPN [Confederation for Independent Poland], PPS-RD [Polish Socialist Party-Revolutionary Democrats], and the Labor Party. The majority of the strikers are from Bialystok, but there are also elderly people from other places in northeast Poland. Words can be seen on the roof poster at the voivodship office explaining that the strikers are protesting against the government's social policy, and that they demand an increase in pensions and annuity payments. They are also awaiting the arrival of government representatives and have announced that until then they will not leave the building. [passage omitted]

### Balcerowicz Interview on Economic Program

*LD1701212690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 17 Jan 90*

[Interview with Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz by Editor Tadeusz Jacewicz on the "Quarter-Hour of Truth" program; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Jacewicz] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Good evening, Mr Premier. Your name is associated with the program we are now trying to swallow. I think your popularity is dropping as fast as the value of the zloty.

[Balcerowicz] You have the right to such a view, of course, but I would like to add that a person linked with a difficult program cannot hope for an easy popularity; I never expected that. Regarding the zloty, I would say that things are not too bad, and I think the situation will improve. At the moment we have assured its convertibility and the programme assures the stabilization of its value.

[Jacewicz] Mr Premier, you are a scientist, or rather you were one because now you are a politician. Scientists have preferences for some theories; what certainty can we have that the program which has been named after you is correct, and that what we are doing now could not have been done in some other way?

[Balcerowicz] I am convinced the main assumptions of this program are correct. Any program that would assume extrication out of current inflation over a longer period of time would not have created such chances of success as the program which we are implementing. [passage omitted on how the prices system works in the market economy, prices were artificially low before and now they need to catch up, rules of free market economy explained]

[Jacewicz] Mr Premier, similar programs of sudden inflation control have already been applied by several countries before us. The results achieved there were questionable—take the example of Argentina, for instance. What is it that guarantees success? What is the precondition of success in Poland?

[Balcerowicz] We examined the examples of such countries when we constructed our own program. There are cases of success and failure. Failure occurred when the politicians, the government and the public showed insufficient toughness and resistance in the face of difficulties. There were occurences of breakdown of resolve in the implementation of the program when facing first serious difficulties such as strikes or other forms of wage pressure.

[Jacewicz] So your recipe is to clench the teeth—both for the government and the public—and to survive.

[Balcerowicz] I think that only the resolve in the realization of this difficult program provides a chance for its success. Departure from this program would mean that certain sacrifices which we have born already would be wasted. For instance, yielding [to pressure] in terms of wage increases over the ones laid down in current regulations would mean pouring oil onto the fire. Certain manifestations of stabilization of prices that can be observed already would then simply be turned back and wasted.

[Jacewicz] So, if we departed from this program, or made it easier, then we would find ourselves in some point of the past and what we have been through so far would be still ahead of us, but in a worse shape perhaps?

[Balcerowicz] Such is my conviction.

[Jacewicz] Mr Premier, the public believes that the burdens have not been spread equally, following the introduction of the program, that the poorest people, millions of ordinary people, are suffering more costs and burdens of this program than for instance large-scale industry or the administration which always managed somehow. What do you think?

[Balcerowicz] I think the program affects almost all the groups of the society because it is impossible to implement successfully a difficult plan of extrication out of inflation without certain inconvenience, without serious inconvenience for some groups.

I am aware of this, and I am really sorry that the situation of some social groups is really difficult. We have been trying to counteract this situation, and are still doing so, through subsidizing and developing various forms of voluntary assistance, through continuing to

maintain subsidies to some prices, so that there is access, for instance, to cheap milk. I am aware, however, that the state with its current financial possibilities is not able to create a situation where there would be no instances of clear decline in the standard of living and that is why among other things we count on various forms of public involvement on the part of those who are better off.

[Jacewicz] Mr Premier, is the government in control of the entirety of the situation?

[Balcerowicz] We are researching. The government has not limited itself to designing the program and to setting it in motion. We are monitoring the development of the situation, we have current daily information on how it is shaping up, and whenever required we undertake urgent actions and interventions. Here is a report from last night, which also has optimistic elements, namely that the voivodas of Bialystok, Lublin, and Rzeszow are reporting—this is last night's report—that last week, that is since 8 January, meat and meat product prices have not risen, while in Rzeszow Voivodship poultry and poultry product prices have been reduced by 20 percent. Obviously, the situation varies. Things are different in different voivodships but last week we have had quite a few instances of this kind.

[Jacewicz] So what conclusions can you draw today from these reports from the battlefield?

[Balcerowicz] The situation in January is difficult. Anyway, that was how we evaluated it in advance. It is difficult because there have been fairly considerable price rises. In part these are official prices and in part these are food prices. These food prices, this increase in the prices of food was especially apparent during the first week; after that the rate of price increases was much slower. We have grounds to expect that, with a consistent implementation of a firm incomes policy, a clear stabilization is going to take place, and wherever the price of a particular commodity has clearly shot up I believe it is going to go down.

Apart from that we have points in our program which have worked with a 100 percent success, perhaps even beyond our expectations. Such an area is the hard currency market, where we have ensured the unification of the exchange rate and its stabilization. I would like to say that this is not something abstract for the public but it is something significant for each and every one of us, because the stabilization of the exchange rate means that imports are not getting more expensive, that is, after going up initially they do not get more expensive any further, you see. Thanks to that the prices of imported goods can remain stable, and our imports include raw materials.

[Jacewicz] Mr Premier, in conclusion I have to put two questions to you. Did this program really have to be done the way it is being done? Does it have a chance to succeed?

[Balcerowicz] No, indeed, this could have been done a different way and there were alternative programs, only they had meagre chances of success in overcoming inflation.

[Jacewicz] So we had to do it the way we are doing it now, with a chance of success, or otherwise, without such a chance.

[Balcerowicz] I think we have to endure under this difficult program and then we have a great chance of success.

[Jacewicz] Thank you, Mr Premier. Good night, ladies and gentlemen.

## Mazowiecki on 1990 Economic Program

*AU2401124790 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No. 1/1990 pp 4-5*

[Interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by unidentified HORIZONT reporter; date and place not given: "I Rely on Our People's Patriotism" ]

[Text] [HORIZONT] The Sejm discussed your government's economic program for 1990 recently. Could you please explain to our readers the principles of your economic policy?

[Mazowiecki] The Polish economy was in such a deep crisis that it was impossible to continue the policy of cosmetic reforms in some areas. We had to consider a deep incision, aimed at improvement, and an equally deep restructuring of the economic system. Our program consists of two basic stages—a stabilizing and a system-oriented stage. The period of stabilization is above all supposed to be a period in which we will choke inflation or even hyperinflation, which is a heritage of the economic policy pursued by the preceding governments. Second, we want to balance our budget in this period. Stabilization requires a tough monetary policy—"empty" money will no longer be issued, and most subsidies will be abolished, connected with a considerable price increase, particularly for fuel and energy. In addition, the program requires deregulating prices and freezing wages, a strict tax policy, and payment of interest on credits. At the same time, we have introduced the internal convertibility of the zloty, which means that enterprises or individuals can pay in zlotys at a bank. Having converted the money, the bank pays their bills to countries with convertible currencies. We plan to decrease inflation to 2 percent every month and conclude the budget year with a surplus.

At the second stage, system-oriented changes will be made. They have already started with the transition from the centrally controlled economy to market economy. However, for the market to function normally, the monopolies existing in many areas must be abolished, and competition must be introduced.

We have the respective legal instrument for this purpose. In the more distant future—but also in the next few

months—far-reaching restructuring measures regarding property will be carried out, which will include privatization measures. This is a very difficult operation which requires particularly careful preparation.

[HORIZONT] You demand substantial sacrifices of the working people. Why are you so confident that the Polish people will go along with you on this road?

[Mazowiecki] We expect not only the workers but the entire society to make sacrifices, which may not be as large as the statistics suggest. We want the burdens resulting from the stabilization of the economy to be distributed in the most equitable way possible, so that the poorest feel them least of all. Workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and artisans—they will all bear the cost of this operation. However, nobody has been able to work out a project for changes that would entail equal hopes for success and would be less expensive. Generally, other projects were much more ambitious. I am talking about the first versions of the project of Professor Sachs or Mr. Soros. I think that the Poles are aware that our project—as inadequate as it certainly is—is the best among those that we can offer to our society. In addition, I rely on our people's patriotism.

If the Poles have been able to sacrifice their lives in the fight for their country, they will also be able to fight for their country by sacrificing part of their living standard—if only for a certain period of time.

[HORIZONT] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], accused your government of moving away from the "roundtable" agreements. What do you think about this reproach?

[Mazowiecki] When we sat down at the "roundtable" nobody foresaw the explosion of hyperinflation which set in a little later and reached several dozen percent every month. Therefore, it was absolutely impossible to literally keep to all agreements. Mr. Rakowski is surely aware of that. By the way, this reproach has not been made for some time.

[HORIZONT] You sat at the "roundtable" yourself and were responsible for trade union affairs. You were one of the advisers to Solidarity, which was founded at that time. What relationship do you as prime minister have with the various trade unions in your country?

[Mazowiecki] You know that as a politician I have come from the Solidarity movement, therefore I am very familiar with trade union affairs. Our government discusses all important economic decisions with the trade unions, both with Solidarity and with the OPZZ (National Trade Union Confederation), as well as Rural Solidarity. These are no easy talks. That is clear. We want the trade unions to see how complicated the situation generally is, and to not only consider the short-term prospects of those groups of workers whom they represent. Of course, it is easier for us to negotiate with Solidarity than with the OPZZ. However, in this latter respect, too, we sometimes succeed in persuading our partners in talks. In any case, the trade unions surely understand that we all sit in one boat, and that an improvement in the fate of individual groups depends on an improvement in its condition.

[HORIZONT] Occasionally people claim that 45 years of People's Poland have been lost years. What do you think? Which things out of these 45 years would you consider worth retaining?

[Mazowiecki] After having been destroyed by the war, the country was reconstructed. There is no doubt about that. Then changes were carried out at very high cost. However, not even the most difficult historical period is entirely lost, because even at a time of maximum pressure, great values of heroism and altruism as well as works of art are created. The history of many countries, including Poland, provides examples of this. Such values were also created in the course of the past 45 years—works of art and literature which will forever form part of the treasure of Polish culture. Something developed which is possibly the greatest achievement of this time, and which I would call the "Solidarity ethics." I would very much like these ethics to prove to be a lasting achievement. However, in many cases, these values were created somehow on the fringes or in sharp opposition to the ruling regime. Regarding other successes, there are certain positive points in foreign policy. I would like to mention the treaties with the two German states, which guarantee the inviolability of our western border. The country was industrialized with huge efforts by all our people as well as with an immeasurable expense of raw materials involving a considerable strain on the environment. However, after years, industrialization proved to be a burden that substantially limited the necessary progress. We must look for new ways now.

[HORIZONT] During your relatively short period in office, since 24 August 1989, you have held many talks with representatives of other countries. What standing should Poland have in Europe today and tomorrow? What foreign policy priorities do you have?

[Mazowiecki] I want Poland to be an important factor of security and stabilization in Europe and the world, a factor of European unification. I hope that we will get out of the economic crisis, and that Poland's development will achieve a dynamism in line with the size of its population and its situation in Europe. What is particularly important are our contacts with our neighbors. We are shaping them on the basis of full sovereignty as well as mutual respect for the other's interests. We want to achieve a real rapprochement of bilateral relations with all our neighbors, and will at the same time observe our alliance obligations. I sincerely wish the political rapprochement of our countries to bear fruit in the mutual rapprochement of our societies and cultures.

[HORIZONT] Relations between Poland and the GDR are not untroubled at present. How do you view their future development?

[Mazowiecki] If we really try to find common interests, and if we put our stakes on rapprochement between our societies, I see them in an optimistic light.

### Jaruzelski Receives Mazowiecki 17 Jan

*LD1701204590 Warsaw PAP in English 1745 GMT 17 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 17—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki who is to address the Sejm tomorrow.

The prime minister presented government's plans against the background of the current socio-economic situation in Poland, including a proposal concerning the date of elections to local self-governments.

### Comparison of Mazowiecki 18 Jan Sejm Speech

*AU2301124690*

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 19 January carries on page 3, under the headline "Premier Mazowiecki's Speech," the 4,000-word speech by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the Sejm in Warsaw on 18 January. Comparison with the Warsaw Domestic Service item published in the 19 January East Europe DAILY REPORT on page 53, under the headline "Mazowiecki Addresses Sejm 18 Jan," shows the two versions to be identical, except for the following:

Page 55, column two, first incomplete paragraph, last sentence make read: ...behavior which we want to establish firmly in Poland. (supplying indistinct word "firmly")

Page 56, column two, first paragraph, sentence one, make read: ...of the judge through changes in laws.... (confirming queried word)

Same paragraph, sentence four, make read: ...changes are necessary to restore to this ministry a serving role.... (rewording, supplying indistinct words)

## Iliescu on NSF Participation in Elections

*AU2501222590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Speech by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front (NSF) Council, on 25 January; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens: During its last meeting, the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council adopted the decision on the Front's participation in the upcoming elections.

The reasons for this decision were presented in detail on television and in the press. The majority of the responses to this decision are positive. Most people cheer the elimination of uncertainty in connection with this question—mainly due to the pressure from some circles that do not want the Front to participate in the elections—which have created a great deal of confusion and incorrect information. First of all, we must stress that the NSF leadership has never stated that it will not participate in the elections. We have delayed discussions on this issue within the Council, because, throughout that period we were not concerned with matters of the electoral campaign but with much more pressing issues of our socio-economic life.

However, it would be absurd, as many citizens have stressed, if the Front, the driving force of the stabilizing activity and of national renewal, were absent from elections. The NSF has never attempted to stifle other political groups or to eliminate them from the electoral arena. On the contrary, the establishment of parties is the result of a process of democratization to which the Front fully contributed.

We were even more surprised by the communique that was published yesterday on behalf of the National Peasant, National Liberal, and Social Democratic Parties. In a violent and aggressive manner, the communique questioned the NSF decision to participate in elections. They even reproached the Council for making this decision on its own, without consultations with the representatives of the public. This is very strange, to say the least. Every political group has the right to decide independently on its participation in elections. Only the Front is denied this right. Where does this discrimination come from? What does this have to do with the democratic spirit of the upcoming elections? One of the arguments of the authors of the communique is that, being in power, the Front has advantages compared to the other political groups. Is this a reasonable argument? Which party or political group that is in power has only the right to organize elections, but should renounce participation in those elections? Has there ever been in the history of those parties mentioned such an experience? Or, has there ever been in the world such a precedence? The obvious question should be a different one. How can anybody question the right of the Front to run in the elections; this is the only real force, born in the heat of the revolution on 22 December 1989, which has assumed its entire responsibility to head the revolutionary movement and to lead—in close cooperation with the Army—the struggle to defeat the special detachment of the Securitate and the terrorists. It took the risk of deciding the fate of the country in a period of profound crisis; the task assumed by the Front during these days was a true political risk. We do not want to boast about our merits, however, the NSF Council and the government have made great efforts during this month, under extremely difficult conditions, to ensure that the country's infrastructure does not collapse.

Those of the Front Council have also made great efforts to solve the vital problems of our society and of the people. For the first time in Romania's history, ministers who are in charge of various areas, have come in front of cameras to inform the people honestly and openly about the real situation. The situation continues to be tense and difficult. The objectives of the Front's platform program, regarding the national salvation, which were broadly endorsed by people, will not be completed in the coming months or by the end of the elections. How can the Front—which has publically pledged to the country to implement the platform program to promote a true democracy in the life of the country—suddenly give up its assumed responsibilities. Would not its withdrawal mean a new void in the political life of the country?

The demand of the historical parties—like some similar opinions expressed in some articles in the press regarding the overthrow or destabilization of the Front—represents a big danger to the country's fate. The Front, with its weaknesses and shortfalls, is the only structure—still very fragile—which carries the burden on its shoulders. The collapse of this structure would mean pushing the country to chaos. Political parties cannot be absolved of their responsibility for the stability of the country in this transitional period.

We call on these parties to overcome their political passions and electoral ambitions and cooperate, in a loyal manner, in the activity aimed at consolidating the stability of the country; a necessary condition to ensure free and civilized elections.

We have not abdicated and will not abdicate from the objective of the platform program of promoting political pluralism. The Front proved to be open and receptive. At the special request of some parties, we have postponed the date of the elections. The draft electoral law, worked out by a group of jurists who are specialized in constitutional law, was distributed also to political parties. Two jurists from the ranks of the National Peasant Party cooperated with the legislative commission to work out the draft. On Saturday, a joint meeting will take place to collect the observations of all of them; then it will be published and submitted to public debate.

We have offered the possibility for concrete cooperation with the Front's Council. Some parties showed interest in joining the Front. Mr Nicu Stancescu, from the Democratic Unity Party, as a member of the Council, is

leading the National Commission for Solving Intimations and Complaints of those who have been the victims of the dictatorship. Mr Mihnea Marmeliuc, minister of labor, has been included in the government as a minister, while he is a member of the National Liberal Party. Two independent personalities have also been included: Mr Mihail Sora, as minister of education, and Mr Nicolae Stoicescu, as minister of religious affairs. A counselor to the prime minister, Mr Nicolae Grigorescu is also a representative of the National Liberal Party. We are open to expanding such cooperation and to engaging other parties in the management of the country during this period.

Some claim that only political parties can participate in the elections. They say that, if the Front wants to run, it should become a political party and state its orientation. We have already said that this is a preconceived idea that fosters confusion. The lack of a rigid party structure and the existence of a widely open platform-program aimed at uniting the broadest interests of all of citizens from all walks of life actually represent a virtue of this movement.

New trends have appeared in the current political life of other countries, as well. The old notions of party structures are outdated. Some are even holding back from calling themselves a party. It is not by accident that new forums and names have emerged: forums, ecological movements, and trade movements, which participate in elections, without anybody contesting their right to do so. On what authority does one deny the NSF this quality and right?

We did not refer to movements in other countries in order to justify our legitimacy. Our revolution has conferred legitimacy on the NSF, whose feature as a movement has been bestowed upon it by the adherence of all types of citizens to its platform and concrete activity placed in the service of the people.

Some questions were raised in connection with the way in which the NSF Council was established. As I said on 22 December 1989 during my presentation of the NSF Council communique to the country, the first list of 39 members represented only its provisional composition, which was spontaneously made up of people who showed a spirit of sacrifice in the years of tyranny as well as of young people, workers, students, and representatives of the intelligentsia and the Army, who were present in those days in the dangerous spots of the capital city, in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship.

I said then that the list stays open. To complete and finalize the composition of the Front's Council, I asked that proposals be submitted from the counties. Consequently, we included in the Council representatives of all counties, and we expanded the representation of certain social categories and national minorities.

However, one should not identify the current composition of NSF councils at central and local level with the future NSF candidates for the elections. As we said in the council, for the electoral campaign we will establish a democratic system of choosing candidates from competent representative people, who enjoy moral authority and the support of their collectives, and who can equitably represent the various categories of citizens—workers, peasants, intellectuals, young people, students, and the national minorities.

Some people reproach us for having former Communist Party members on the NSF councils and in the government. It is a known fact that the former Communist Party had almost four million members. Among these people—former rank and file activists, as well as activists with responsible tasks—some not only refused to identify themselves with the Ceausescu dictatorship and his methods, but actually took a stand, tried to save what they could, and were the target of repressive or [word indistinct] measures. Among those who fell in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship were also communists and members of the Union of Communist Youth. Therefore, while condemning the Communist Party as a structure and the dictatorial measures of government, as far as the people are concerned, each one should be judged according to his deeds and behavior.

As a matter of fact, even in the composition of the newly formed parties and of their leaderships as well as among the most (?insipid) journalists one can find former members of the Communist Party. The NSF Council has many members which did not belong to the Romanian Communist Party [RCP].

As far as I am concerned, I have nothing to hide. I have been a public person and many people around the country know me. I am the son of a railway worker, a former activist of the trade union movement and of the now illegal Communist Party, which experienced the regime of political oppression of the thirties and the cruelty of the Siguranta [the Security Department in the interbellum period] and of the repressive apparatus of those years. I was in jail in Jilava prison and in the Caracal and Tirgu Jiu concentration camps, which were actually inaugurated in 1940 during King Carol's dictatorship. At the age of 12, I was arrested and interrogated by the Siguranta in 1942 in connection with my mother's illegal activity. After the Fifth Congress, my father was ostracized for his criticism of the RCP resolution on the national question. In 1944, during his internment in the Tirgu Jiu concentration camp, my father came into conflict with Gheorghiu-Dej [former RCP leader] and was excluded from the party. He died in 1945 at the age of 44.

As a pupil and student, I was active in the youth movement. I worked in the OAER [Organization of Romanian Pupils] pupils' organization during the 1948-1949 period. I was chairman of OASR [Organization of Romanian Students] between 1956-1959. I was first secretary of the Union of Communist Youth during 1968-1971.

In 1971, I came into conflict with Nicolae Ceausescu during the plenum of the ideological aktiv, which adopted the program of the so-called cultural revolution, the moment when Ceausescu launched his personal dictatorship. I was removed and sent to Timisoara and then Iasi, being constantly checked and followed by the Securitate. As of 1979, I worked at the National Water Council, where I opposed certain costly investments, including the Danube-Bucharest Canal. As a result of this, I was released from there and for the past six years I was employed with the EDITURA TEHNICA [Technical Publishing House].

My conflict with Ceausescu, the refusal to ally myself with the practice of kow-towing to and supporting the cult of Ceausescu, and my critical opinions stated on various occasions in public or in more restricted circles were well known to a large number of people; members or nonmembers of the party. Totalitarian and dictatorial practices have always been alien to me. But what Ceausescu reproached me most for was my open way of working with the people and my democratic working methods. The sole judges are the people who knew me and worked with me. I am not afraid of the kind of judgment they will pass.

Esteemed citizens, a month has elapsed since the overthrow of the dictatorship. This month has radically changed the face of the country. We have accomplished many things, but we are still facing many difficulties. The state of political instability and the real or artificially fostered conflicts complicate and make efforts much more difficult to ensure the smooth development of activities in the productive sectors, in industry and agriculture, in trade, supplies, and in public services.

From a certain viewpoint, it is much easier to be in the opposition, as one does not have direct responsibilities for running the country. We have to deal with many pressing problems on a daily basis. Many disquieting phenomena have been recently brought to our attention from certain Transylvanian counties, in connection with separatist trends which cause tension and conflicts between citizens of Romanian and Hungarian nationality. It is a pity to keep up such tensions now that the revolution has emphasized the common interest of the Romanians and the national minorities in overthrowing the dictatorship—which has caused so much injustice and sorrow for both groups alike.

Many difficult problems face us and the country.

All of us must prove our ability to find a common language and a common platform of cooperation—in spite of different opinions and interests and without renouncing in any way one's own identity—so as to pool our efforts in the service of the major goal of national salvation. Thank you.

## Demonstrators Demand NSF Leaders Resign

*AU2501213490 Paris AFP in English 2046 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 25 (AFP)—Several hundred people carrying anti-communist banners demonstrated Thursday in front of the headquarters of Romania's ruling National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, calling on it to resign.

The demonstrators, most of them young, carried banners equating the Front with the Romanian Communist Party or reading: "Down with communism and lies".

It was the second demonstration in two days following an announcement by the Front that it was to present candidates in elections scheduled for May 20.

The announcement led Romania's three main political parties to call for the Front's "immediate resignation".

The demonstration was illegal, the organisers not having given sufficient notice of their intentions.

Meanwhile Bucharest radio said the country's parties had been invited to attend round-table talks with the NSF Council in order to discuss electoral law.

The holding of the round-table had been announced Tuesday by NSF Council executive member Silviu Brucan.

A total of 18 parties have so far been officially registered, according to the Romanian press. These include the three "historic" parties, the Peasants' Party, the Liberal Party, and the Democratic Party, which existed prior to the Communist seizure of power in 1947.

## New Weekly Supports NSF Election Participation

*AU2501194690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1820 GMT 25 Jan 90*

["A New Periodical"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/1/1990—The first issue of an independent periodical—"DEMOCRATIA" [DEMOCRACY] has been brought out. Its editorial announces that in it "all voices will be heard and all values will be able to give their full measure." The staff assumes that, at this crucial time for Romania, it is their duty to be on the side of the best forces grouped in the National Salvation Front [NSF] and in the new government.

In an article, Pompiliu Romascanu states his opinion that "the National Salvation Front must find a solution to take part in elections through its best representatives." The "What Do We Know About" column supplies more details on the long opposition of the current NSF Council President, Mr Ion Iliescu, to Ceausescu's mad policy. The periodical contributes new information of the dictators and their associates, commentaries on the state of industry and agriculture, political, and social life.

## New Political Parties Continue To Register

*AU2501185690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1758 GMT 25 Jan 90*

["New Political Parties in Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/1/1990—Four new parties were registered at Bucharest's City Court: The Humanist Ecological Party with headquarters in Arad, the Democratic Unity Party of Moldavia with headquarters in Iasi, the Socialist Liberal Party, and the Romanian Peasant Party, both based in Bucharest. So far, 18 political parties have claimed a place on Romania's political stage, and discuss their platform, on the television and in newspapers.

The Democratic Party of Romania has its platform published in Bucharest's "ADEVARUL" newspaper. Among its points are constitutional republic, political pluralism, decentralization of the economy and its market orientation, gradual privatization, joint companies, a reorganization of agriculture and private land ownership, free initiative in all areas, foreign trade included, etc.

## Interview With Former Foreign Minister Manescu

*PM2601113490 Paris LE MONDE in French 26 Jan 90 p 3*

[Report on interview with former Foreign Minister Corneliu Manescu by Sylvie Kauffmann in Bucharest—date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] For a day in the eyes of the world, he was the new leader of free Romania, the former dignitary who had become a dissident and whose name had been chanted by the citizens who overthrew Ceausescu on 22 December. Bucharest radio announced that a National Salvation Front [NSF] had taken power. Its chairman was former Foreign Minister Corneliu Manescu (from 1961 to 1972) and its spokesman was Ion Iliescu, former leader of the Romanian Communist Party, who had been disgraced.

Bucharest—It very quickly became apparent that 73-year old Manescu's health would not allow him to carry out his duties and Mr Iliescu emerged as the new regime's strong man until his confirmation in the post of chairman on 26 December. Mr Manescu participated in the constituent meeting of the NSF Council, of which he is still a member and, although he is now not part of the NSF Council's daily activity, many people recognize that he has a kind of moral authority over the Front.

We met with Mr Manescu at home, a comfortable house, which he found "with the National Salvation Front Council's help" after friends moved him from the rudimentary house in which he lived with his wife in Chitila, in Bucharest's suburbs. He was moved the day on which Ceausescu's execution was announced, for fear of reprisals. It was there that Ceausescu had him placed under constant surveillance by six Securitate cars, following the famous open letter in which Mr Manescu and five other former senior officials, including Mr Silviu Brucan who is now a member of the NSF Council Executive Bureau, had condemned the dictator's policy in March 1989. There, to avoid the bugging devices, "we did not talk to each other for eight months," Mrs Manescu said. "We communicated by means of pieces of paper which we read under a cover. Nobody could come to see us, and the people in the district did not dare to talk to us because they were frightened."

Suddenly, on 22 December, at around 1100 hours, the Securitate men told Mr Manescu that he was free and then left their positions outside the house. The couple were incredulous for a time, because they did not know anything about what was happening in Bucharest. "Then thousands of people came running, the people of Chitila, and they brought me this, which I will keep all my life." Corneliu Manescu, a tall man, stood up, and when he returned from the next room he unfurled a huge flag—the Romanian flag with a hole cut out of the middle, as the insurgents had done in Budapest in 1956: "We embraced, and we wept." The former foreign minister was so moved, his wife continued, that he collapsed into an armchair and remained dazed for a long time.

Now, a month later, Mr Manescu observes the Romanian political scene with a lucid and at times critical eye. He is certainly not critical of NSF Council President Iliescu, "who has my support and that of the masses." "He is sincere and does not have great personal ambitions. He wants to do something for this country, and that is a great thing; yes, I believe that he has the makings of a leader and I am his devoted partner. I want to help him as much as I can. A kind of confidence has been established between him and the population. As far as the others are concerned, we must wait and see."

Although he did not mention any names, Mr Manescu is clearly much less enthusiastic about the other Front leaders, notably Mr Brucan who has raised a controversy over one of the six signatories of the March letter—Gheorghe Apostol, the party's former number two. In the next few days, he intends to visit Ion Iliescu—"not Mazilu or Brucan"—to give him his opinion and, if necessary, to give him the benefit of his experience. "But I am waiting for warlike exploits to end and for serious discussions to begin." What this new government needs most, Corneliu Manescu said, is unity. "The leaders must talk coherently and Iliescu must have sincere support. If the minor problems which have arisen here and there are not overcome, the danger may increase. We are facing tricky problems. The winter is long, reserves are low, and it is impossible to live only on foreign aid. The country must work. We must make up ground!"

The former foreign minister thinks that "free elections are the key." "They will generate an activity and fervor unknown to the Romanians, with political meetings and words which have not been spoken for decades. It will be

an important test. But I do not think that the people are ready yet. The election must take place at a time which is acceptable and fair to all; many people have never known the Peasant Party or the Liberal Party.... If the parties do not agree on April, the elections must be postponed. They need—and are entitled—to make themselves known and to organize."

[Kauffmann] But would the postponement of the elections be likely to undermine the NSF Council's credibility?

[Manescu] We must explain to the Romanians that a delay is necessary, that immediate elections would be a complete failure for the revolution. We must communicate. The people are waiting for something. For instance, at present they are waiting for the trials, they are feverish, everybody is watching the television but there is are no explanations.... [Manescu ends]

Could the Communist Party take part in the elections? Mr Manescu revealed the attempts which are currently being made to revive the Romanian Communist Party. "I myself have been approached several times by former officials, who may not have made the same mistakes as the others, to support the creation of a 'clean' Communist Party. But those people are not completely free of old memories did not react when we asked them to sign our open letter in March.... In my view, the Communist Party is finished, however out of 3.8 million members, there must be some who want to revive what was an honest project for a time 50 years ago."

### Roman Visits Textile Factory, Meets Workers

*AU2501204990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1907 GMT 25 Jan 90*

["Prime Minister Petre Roman Meets Workers' Representatives"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/1/1990—Thursday, 25 January, Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman and representatives of the National Salvation Front Council went to the Garments and Knitwear Manufacturing Enterprise in Bucharest, staffed with 16,000, to meet representatives of its workers and experts.

They approached questions related especially to socio-professional aspects in the enterprise and the possibilities of updating its technologies.

### Police Chief on Prisoner Release, Crime Data

*AU2501232390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2022 GMT 25 Jan 90*

["Lawbreaking in Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/1/1990—The pardoning and amnesty decided by the National Salvation Front Council of Romania meant the release of over 18,000 law-breakers who alter the citizens' peace and safety, stated Jean Moldoveanu, chief inspector and first deputy minister of the interior, at a news conference held in Bucharest Thursday. Following other serious offenses (murder, attempted murder, robbery, theft and rape), nearly 140 of the released were brought to prison again. The police chief inspector also referred to the repression of profiteering as more than 280 cases have been discovered so far, as well as to the concern shown for the retrieval of the weapons and ammunition spread during the revolution and of those held by the former dignitaries, mentioning that more than 400 weapons and over 4,000 cartridges had been recovered so far.

### ADEVARUL Interviews Officials on Economy

*AU2601073090*

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ADEVARUL on 4 January, on page 2 under the headline "Interviews for ADEVARUL" carries two interviews on economic issues: the 800-word Corneliu Carlan interview with Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, minister of national economy, and the first part of a 900-word interview by Iosif Pop with Victor Surdu, chairman of the National Salvation Front (NSF) Council at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry. ADEVARUL on 6 January, on page 2 carries three interviews with top economic figures: the 800-word Nicolae Militaru interview with Nicolae Dicu, minister of mines; the 900-word Ioana Dabu interview with Professor Dr Engineer Simion Hancu, minister of water, forestry, and environment; and the 900-word, second part, of Iosif Pop interview with Victor Surdu, chairman of NSF Council at the Ministry of Agriculture. ADEVARUL on 7 January on page 2 carries the 900-word interview with Gheorghe Caranfil, minister of chemical and petrochemical industry.

The minister of national economy, Victor Stanculescu, speaks about the reason why the NSF Council decided to set up this new ministry. This ministry, says Surdu "should be in charge of the great topical needs of the current period—that is, should coordinate all activities in connection with rebuilding the national economy." After enumerating some of the "great damages caused to our country by the absurd system of planned economy," Stanculescu speaks about the "real production potential" of the country after eliminating "all the lies imposed by the old regime to give a false brilliance to achievements" and about priorities in production activity. He calls on all economic units "to avoid excesses of energy consumption" and "to make careful use of the country's reserves," while each ministry should "ensure a balance between imports and exports."

Iosif Pop, in his interview with the Agriculture Ministry official, Victor Surdu, inquires about the current state of agriculture. Surdu informs him that Ceausescu's claims that "in 1989 Romania obtained 60 million tonnes of grain" were not correct because "the country's real grain production was less than 17 million tonnes which is less than the yields of Romania's agriculture at the beginning of the seventies." The situation in the animal breeding sector is also very bad, "particularly as regards the

quality of animals and the profitability." Asked about priorities, Surdu answers that "our major objective is to ensure the appropriate foodstuff supply to the people, a part of which can be done from the reserves which the dictator wanted to sell for very low prices on the foreign market." He admits that situation is difficult and "nothing can be solved overnight" however, he hopes that situation will improve "by eliminating useless bureaucratic methods" and by ensuring appropriate amount of fodder for the livestock." Another method by which Surdu hopes to enhance Romanian agriculture is to lease land to peasants.

The minister of mines, Nicolae Dicu, in his interview to ADEVARUL on 6 January, notes that "the extractive industry also had its share of incompetence that dominated Romania's economy" during the Ceausescu era. Dicu reveals the fact that "7,100 conscripts and over 2,200 soldiers were delegated to Jiu Valley and other mining units" to do the mining together with miners. He considers that "situation has to improve" by "ensuring a real and honest approach to work." He believes that miners should be ensured proper housing and improved living conditions in general, while end must be put to "some unjustified investments.".

The minister of water, forestry, and environment, Simion Hancu, speaks of priorities in the field of environment, an area that was completely ignored during the Ceausescu regime. He envisages various measures such as "setting up both fix and mobile laboratories which should receive information on the state of environment" in various parts of the country. Some unjustified projects from an economic point of view "such as Bucharest-Danube Canal, an investment of 20 billion lei" will have to be stopped together with the construction of some hydro-power systems. Hancu also talks about his ministry's intentions to cooperate with the UN Program for Environment and says that "we will actively cooperate with the World Meteorological Organization and with other international organizations, with which Romania could not cooperate in the past years because even the membership fee was not approved by the government. However, since environmental protection is a general issue, it cannot be fenced in by borders and the need to establish an increasingly broader international cooperation is an urgent requirement."

Gheorghe Caranfil, minister of chemical and petrochemical industry, in his interview to ADEVARUL voices his opinion that "Romania might achieve a modern and healthy chemical industry in a short time." He says that the truth about this economic branch was not known because it was under the jurisdiction "of the scientist of world renown" (Elena Ceausescu). However, he says that "as far as the great amount of installations is concerned, they really exist" but information about "the profitability and functioning" of those installations was not correct. After enumerating the causes that led to the present situation in this economic area, such as "to produce everything in our country is practically impossible," he says that his kind of policy "led to a decrease of quality of some products that formerly were appreciated in the world." Therefore, Caranfil believes that an international cooperation in this area as well as ensuring the imports of some products are necessary at the moment. He pledges that "we will eliminate exaggeration and we will correct the mistakes of the past." He is positive that "chemistry will become again one of the sectors that ensures a massive participation in creating the national wealth."

## ADEVARUL Profiles New Ministers

*AU2501194990 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 5 Jan 90 p 5*

["ADEVARUL Introduces Romania's Government"]

[Text]

**Colonel General Atanasie Victor Stanculescu, Minister of National Economy**

His looks do not betray his age. His elegant movements and his pleasant tone, which can also be quite exacting, strike one from the start, while his military dress gives him a special allure. Born on 10 May 1928 in Tecuci, he attended the Sibiu Military School for Artillery Officers, where he graduated on 30 December 1949. He entered the Artillery Faculty of the Military Academy and obtained his diploma in 1952. His military career consisted of the following: unit commander; chief of staff of Timisoara army corps until 1953; section chief at the General Staff; chief of a General Staff directorate and later deputy chief of staff. He attended a specialization course and, as a self-taught man, also accumulated profound economic knowledge with each passing year. Recognized for his economic skills, he was appointed head of the Economic Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense. In 1981, he was made deputy minister of national defense; five years later he was promoted to the position of first deputy minister of national defense. A natural upward evolution in a sphere where one's achievements can be clearly ascertained.

He began a family; his wife, whom he describes as a "woman of common sense and great balance," bore him a daughter. Now he has become a grandfather, although he does not like this spread around, as people might think he is too old. He would not like his grandson to become an artillery man. He would like him to inherit his passion for horses. For almost 18 years, more exactly from 1971, he has been president of the Romanian Federation of Horse Riding and Modern Pentathlon. If you want to ingratiate yourself with him, give him a film cassette after 12 hours of work. Watching a film invigorates him and enables him to resume work. He often goes to the theater and has a critical eye for various repertoires. Late in the evening, he reads specialized books or literary works in Romanian, French, or Russia.

Where did the revolution catch him? With his leg in plaster. This is a long story which we will present on another occasion. Deeply shocked by the news of the

tragic death of the former minister of national defense, Army General Vasile Milea, who had the courage to tell the dictator to his face that the Army could not fire on the people, he ordered the Army to withdraw to barracks and the soldiers to honor their name as sons of the people and brothers of those who were overthrowing a dictatorship and sacrificing themselves for freedom and dignity.

**Mihai Sora, Minister of Education**

Without any formalities—just a little tired, because of the many problems he has to deal with at this time of profound change—he comes straight to the point. He was born in Ianova commune, Timis County, on 7 May 1916. He attended the "Constantin Diaconovici Loga High School" of Timisoara. In 1938 he graduated magna cum laude from the Bucharest Philosophy Faculty. He obtained a scholarship from the French Government and, from 1938 to the end of 1944, lived as a refugee and participated in the French resistance against Nazism. He stayed in France as a researcher on probation with CNRS [expansion unknown]. In 1947, his first book "Du Dialogue Interieur" was published by the Gallimard publishing house. He returned home in 1948 and worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; in January 1951 he was fired. With difficulty, he found a job at the Foreign Languages Publishing House, where he translated Romanian-language masterpieces by Eminescu, Creanga, Slavici, and others into French. In 1954 he was fired from there, too. He found a job with the State Publishing House for Literature and Arts, where he tried to revive the Romanian and universal cultural heritage. The persecution continued. He again lost his job and in May 1970 found employment with the Ministry of Education in the section of educational and research libraries.

When fired again, he applied for retirement. In 1979, after many years of waiting, he finally managed to publish his first book in the Romanian language "The Salt of the Earth," which was awarded a prize by the Writers Union. Then, without any explanation, he was refused the right to publish again. Only in 1985 did he manage to publish another book "To Be, To Do, and To Have." He kept writing and survived. He has hundreds of young friends throughout the country. He loves them and is sure that they love him—their simple but obvious gestures in this respect are proof of his belief.

His family lives abroad—this is how he manifested his nonconformism during the rule of the former dictator in Romania. His wife, the writer Mariana Sora, published a book about the greatest French stylist, E. M. Cioran, and translated from Mircea Eliade. He has three children. His eldest daughter, Sanda, teaches Romanian language and literature in Munich; his eldest son, Andrei, is a "grand reporter" with Antenne 2 in France; and his youngest son, Toma, is a musician in Munich and gives private piano and music lessons.

Mihai Sora is now building a flexible ministerial team and organizational structure capable of restoring a thorough, exacting, and broadly cultural education system. The new formula is freedom, democracy, and competence.

**Ion Aurel Stoica, Minister of Machine-Building Industry**

He still does not quite know how he arrived in Bucharest. At the behest of some people he got on a train in Cluj railway station and traveled to the heart of the country, in order to help with the speedy recovery of an economy eroded by the decisions of the "omniscient" incompetent. Ion Aurel Stoica is a young man born on 6 May 1943 in Saulia de Cimpie commune, Mures County. He was head of class at the "Ady-Sincai high school." Graduates with honors from the Mechanics Faculty, TCM [expansion unknown] discipline, of the Cluj Polytechnic Institute. He taught at the institute and made a name for himself in the sphere of the theory of mechanisms and machinery dynamics. He never deserted his first passion, and continued to teach his students. He obtained his doctorate in mechanisms and tribology. He wrote, or co-authored, seven specialized books. He has published more than 60 papers at home and abroad. The ABI-American Phiopgraphical Institute let him know that he was selected to be included in the second issue of the volume "5,000 World Personalities," a reference book which honors professional competence and service to humanity. He is a member of the Cluj Polytechnic Institute group, which produced the first robot at the "Tehnofrig" Enterprise. He cooperated with economic enterprises in solving various problems. With characteristic lucidity and professionalism, he worked in the economic management sector of the former party county committee. Being much too open in his assessments, he became an incompatible, but necessary figure.

He has published more than 200 essays on philosophy and the history of science. He maintains constant links with men of letters. He could not stand the personality cult, the decisions imposed by force, the lack of competence, and so forth.

When the revolution broke out, he happened to be at the Heavy Equipment Combine, where he tried to influence "the cadres" not to send out the security or Armed Forces, because the people were peaceful. However, when their patience reached the limit, Cluj's central streets ran with blood. He joined the revolution. Aurel Stoica was elected member of the a county council member of the National Salvation Front to contribute to the normalization of the economic activity. From here, he is summoned to Bucharest, where he is now putting together a team to work on the basis of the new principles of democracy and professional competence. His wife talks to him on the telephone from Cluj and his daughter, Aura, an electronics student, rings him up to find out how he is doing. "What is life for"?—we ask him. "To live or to suffer. Now, we are regaining our dignity."

## ADEVARUL Calls for Market Economy

*AU2501200590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1824 GMT 25 Jan 90*

["The Pluralism of Property and the Free Market"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/1/1990—The goal of the revolution in Romania must be the creation of a true market economy based on the pluralism of property, on economic competition and on openness to foreign countries, is the opinion of Mr Aurel Iancu, doctor in economy, expressed in an article run by ADEVARUL in its "The Economy—Whereto?" section.

The revolution in the political area, he says, should be paralleled by a revolution in the economic field. Political pluralism should go hand in hand with the pluralism of property and the final target should be the creation of a market economy as experience has proved that the market, represented by all its component elements and institutions, provides for a smooth run of the economy, never disturbing economic laws, and promoting competence and quality.

It is Mr Iancu's opinion that conditions are in place in today's Romania for a far-reaching revolution in the economy, which could be achieved either in a short lapse of time—causing disbalance, material losses and great, unpredictable social suffering—or over a few years' period, according to a well-thought programme aimed at alleviating or even eliminating the said inconveniences.

Opting for the second way, Mr Aurel Iancu suggests that during the transitional period a socioeconomic balance should be struck as soon as possible, material and financial funds being found to boost food and consumer goods production. Secondly, strategic development lines in the Romanian economy should be reviewed in consideration of realities, all while employing the country's available resources discernibly. Thirdly, an economic democratism should be created to be a match for political democratism. In this respect the promotion of the pluralism of the forms of ownership—public, cooperative and private property—is essential to provide for the competitiveness of economic agents, for economic decentralization, for the creation and gradual consolidation of the financial market and of corresponding institutions and for massive inflows of foreign capital through the creation of joint companies and the expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation.

The establishment in the economy of a true freedom of the market, Mr Iancu opines, is the only way to democratize and update the Romanian economy and society, helping them leave behind the isolation and trauma caused by dictatorship and allowing them to join the civilized world.

## Former Dissident Cornea on Communists, Elections

*PM1601143290 Paris LIBERATION in French 10 Jan 90 p 20*

[Telephone interview with Doina Cornea, former dissident and member of the National Salvation Front Council, by Pierre Haski—date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Doina Cornea, the most famous dissident of the Ceausescu era, has decided to speak out against the danger which she sees of former Communists gaining control over the government which emerged from the revolution. Doina Cornea was reached by telephone at her home in Cluj, in Transylvania, where she was harassed in the days of the former regime, and she confided her fears to LIBERATION.

[Cornea] I protest the fact that former Communists are still in place everywhere and even some former members of the Securitate here in Cluj.

[LIBERATION] What do you think of the way in which the trials of former Securitate members have started?

[Cornea] It is impossible to judge people only on what they did on the day the revolution started. Everybody must be judged by the people. I am not in favor of vengeance, I have always been in favor of fairness and have always advocated human rights. But you cannot pass the death sentence on a couple (Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu—LIBERATION editor's note) and say that everything else is fine.

[LIBERATION] Are you still a member of the National Salvation Front Council?

[Cornea] Yes, but if it is turned into a party, I will no longer be a member. I do not want to be part of a metamorphosis of the Communist Party. For the time being, I am waiting, but the signs worry me. Everything is so hidden. But there is a group within the Council, to which Mircea Dinescu belongs, which has broader, more democratic views than the rest of the members. I have the impression that this group expresses some reticence and reservations.

[LIBERATION] What role do you want to play?

[Cornea] I am willing to act as intermediary, to calm things down, because we need order in this country. But I do not want to be a tool which they can manipulate.

[LIBERATION] Do you think that the elections should still be held in April?

[Cornea] No, that is too soon. The Front has all the means of propaganda to impose a certain political line. It has an advantage over all the other parties, which do not readily have access to television, like the National Peasant Party which is very popular in Romania. We must have equality among the parties.

[LIBERATION] Do you think there is a threat to democratization?

[Cornea] Yes, but if the left confiscates democracy, we must not accept it. Communism has always been foreign to this country. The young people and workers have said that they will take to the streets again. The population is quite worried, they are aware of what is happening. What I am saying not unfounded, I speak with people who come to see me and express their anxiety. Too many people....

## Cornea on New Regime

*PM1501110290 Paris LE MONDE in French 12 Jan 90 p 3*

[Patrice Claude dispatch: "Government Criticized For Being Based Too Much on Old Structures"]

[Text] Bucharest—"It is impossible to change in a few days the mentality of a people who have suffered half a century of communism." On the telephone the distant voice of Doina Cornea is as thin as ever, even more faint than usual, because the heroine of Cluj is "tired, ill, and totally exhausted." But the common sense of the former French teacher persecuted by the Ceausescu regime has not disappeared.

Changing people's thinking. At a time when the country is gradually going back to work, when the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council is establishing the local framework of an undeniable democracy by daily decrees, old reflexes still sometimes tend to stifle good intentions.

From her cold apartment in Cluj, Doina Cornea indirectly threatened to leave the NSF Council. "For the time being, I am still a member," she told LE MONDE, "but, it really is no longer possible. Things which I do not like are happening everywhere. The NSF Council must postpone the elections, the other political parties must have better access to television. Democracy does not yet exist, and we want a Western-style pluralist democracy."

What can be done against the obsession of all those in the media, the administrative departments, the public services, the Army, and the police, not to mention the population, for whom the revolution is simply the replacement of one authority—that of the Communist Party—by another, that of the mythical NSF Council? "It is simple," Dan Petrescu, famous dissident writer from Iasi and the new deputy culture minister, "we must give ourselves the means of changing people's mentality." This has become a leitmotiv among the intelligentsia. "The media, education, and culture must be stripped of their ideology."

To do that, the deputy minister told France Inter in Bucharest radio studios, "we need books, newspapers, technical equipment and, in a general way, culture...." To begin with, Lorin Antohi, the young 33-year old general director of pre-university education, said, "we will initially proceed by directives. We intend to remove any hint of the old regime from school books. Teachers will be asked to tear out the first page of all school books which carried a photograph of the former dictator." Ceausescu's so-called "poems," which are found in particular in writing textbooks intended for six-year old children, such as: "Oh, my beloved party, you who are the hydraulic power station which gives us light...," all that and the meaningless phrases about the merits of "historical and dialectical materialism" will naturally be removed.

### The Success of ROMANIA LIBERA

Moreover, according to a young professor, the Romanians, who do not lack humor, sometimes put things right themselves and jokes about the "hysterical and dietetic materialism of Ceausescu" were told in some student residences. The fact remains that the fundamental problem is serious. "We still have within us," Anton Uncou, chief editor of ROMANIA LIBERA, the first national daily, told us, "reservations and fears which mean that we are still not really free in what we think."

ROMANIA LIBERA, which has a circulation of one million copies—"without any unsold copies being returned for the past 18 days"—flatters itself that it obtained the resignation last week of General Constantin Bostina, former deputy economy minister, as a result of an article.

"The man was Ceausescu's private secretary and he had close links with the ruling family. That was not acceptable. In addition," according to the journalist, who was fired at the beginning of 1989 for trying to publish a free gazette with a few friends, "we are campaigning for the postponement of the elections. The opposition parties do not have time to organize. A democracy without an opposition is meaningless." The intelligentsia's responses are sound. It is up to the government to stop monopolizing the only national television network, to help change the way people think.

Several embryonic parties have been given a few minutes on the air here and there. The students seem to have had a daily forum for their views for the past few days. The presenters, who have essentially maintained the deferential tone characteristic of the former regime's zealots, sometimes read communiques and appeals from ordinary citizens, some of which attack the NSF Council.

But the new government—this is a commonly expressed criticism in Bucharest—is still based much too much on old men and old structures. Some will say that it is impossible to do anything else for the time being. They will say that the government is working and that it must announce its decisions to the nation regularly and rapidly. But is it necessary to repeat several times per day on television that 12 February has been decreed a day of national mourning and that the former Palace Square will henceforth be called Revolution Square?

### French Envoy on 'Inviolability of Frontiers'

*AU2501201690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1947 GMT 25 Jan 90*

["Statement by France's Ambassador on the Free Romanian Television"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/1/1990—Speaking on the free Romanian Television in the evening of 25 January, France's Ambassador to Bucharest, Mr Jean-Marie le Breton, said he was authorized to categorically declare that the French Government intends in no way to question the frontiers extant in Europe. He added that France, a signatory to the Helsinki Final Act which stipulates the inviolability of frontiers in Europe, understood to abide by it.

### Joint Cultural League Established With France

*AU2501194890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1910 GMT 25 Jan 90*

["Romanian-French League of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/1/1990—The Viala-Raducanu-Calderon Romanian-French League of Friendship and Cultural and Intellectual Cooperation was established on 24 January. The aims of the League are to re-launch the Romanian-French friendship in all fields and initiate new programmes in order to strengthen the cultural ties between the two nations in a democratic, free and dignified Europe.

Constantin Crisan, a member of the Association of French-Language Writers (ADELF), chairman of the initiative group, stressed in his opening address the traditional friendship between the two countries, and writer Andor Horvath, deputy minister of culture, spoke about the strong Romanian-French friendship which was particularly productive in modern times.

A debate of the League's draft programme and statute was followed by the election of the honorary and active membership as well as of the Council of the League which also includes leading Romanian, French and French-speaking Belgian personalities.

### More on Criticism of Mitterrand's Statements

*AU2401202990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1954 GMT 24 Jan 90*

["In Connection With President Francois Mitterrand's Declaration"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—In connection with the declaration of Francois Mitterrand, president of France, in a press conference at the close of his official visit to Hungary, the Romanian News Agency ROMPRES is empowered by the Romanian Foreign Ministry to declare:

Romania has been surprised and worried by the declaration of President Francois Mitterrand of France who said that Hungary would have been "deprived of two thirds of its territory after the two world wars."

Such a declaration, 70 years after the end of the First World War following the Peace Treaties of Versailles and over 40 years after the signing of the Peace Treaties of Paris, moots the problems of frontiers among states in Europe, incites to questioning them and the respective peace treaties.

The declaration runs counter to the basic principles of the relations among the states participating in the Helsinki Conference, according to which they pledged to respect the inviolability of their frontiers and their territorial integrity and to refrain from any attempt upon them.

Moreover such declarations are even more serious and hard to understand as they come from France, a country which had made an important contribution to the instatement of peace after the two world wars, to the negotiation and conclusion of the peace treaties, under which the setting of state frontiers in keeping with the peoples' legitimate rights was an essential aim.

The fact is ignored in the declaration that Hungary "had not lost" one territory or another, but that the peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire had exerted their right to self-determination and freed themselves, eliminating an injust state of affairs which had lasted for so long. As for the Romanians under that domination, the proclamation of the National Assembly of Alba Iulia on the first of December 1918 was their decision to unite with the country, and the Trianon Treaty of 1919 only sanctioned that decision.

### 'High' Infant Mortality Rate Reported

*AU1301194590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0959 GMT 13 Jan 90*

["A Dramatic Record" — ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/1/1990 —Today Romania is one of the countries of the world with a high infant mortality rate, two to three times higher than in the other European countries. A loathesome record, which is an outcome of Nicolae Ceausescu's criminal policy which reflected in the inhuman laws the National Salvation Front Council abrogated in the early days of the revolution.

According to the latest bulletin brought out by the centre for health computation and statistics, infant mortality was more than 26 in one thousand in 1989, when the birth rate stood at 16 in one thousand. This indicator stood at only 5.9 in Sweden and Finland, 6.8 in Switzerland, 8.3 in France and so on. The most adversely affected age group was that of children under four. While 2.2 children under four (in one thousand inhabitants) died in Romania every year, that indicator was below

one in one thousand in the neighbouring countries—Bulgaria 0.9, Czechoslovakia 0.5, the GDR and Hungary 0.6.

With women exhausted by working conditions that did not accord with medical recommendations, compelled to work overtime and also on Sundays and eating food that lacked proteins, newborns were often underweight and dystrophic which was the major cause of infant deaths, representing one third of the children who died before the age of one. Besides defective nutrition, the cold killed thousands of children. No less than 66 children ages one to four in 100,000 inhabitants died of respiratory diseases, which compares with 1.4 in Denmark—which is a Nordic country where the weather is cold—3.2 in Poland, 5.8 in Hungary and 2.1 in the GDR.

This statistical data, which was supplied to the relevant forums but has never been known to the public opinion before, should have sounded the alarm. And yet, they were ignored, lest they should affect the "humanism" of Ceausescu's policy, which virtually sentenced generations of children to death.

## Comparison of 26 Dec Iliescu TV Speech

*AU0201181290*

Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian on 27 December 1989 carries on pages 1 and 3 the 1,400-word speech by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council, during a program on Romanian Free Television, on the afternoon of 26 December. Comparison of the ADEVARUL version with the AGERPRES version published in the 27 December East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 59 and 60, reveals that the two versions are identical, except for the following

Page 60, column one, paragraph two, end of last sentence reads: ...to competent law experts. (changing wording)

Page 60, column two, first paragraph, end of sentence three reads: under their control. Likewise, the limitation of mandates. Nobody will be... (providing additional sentence)

Page 60, column two, last paragraph of item, end of only sentence reads: ...our practical activity.

Because I heard—during a previous discussion—a few interesting ideas about the nature of our revolution, the young people's revolution, I came to the studio with three young people from the barricades, who, in the past four days, have been present in several places.

I considered it my duty to bring here with me the most dynamic force of our revolutionary process—the young people. Perhaps some of them will express their own ideas at this meeting. (providing additional paragraphs)

### Prlja Holds Talks During Unofficial U.S. Visit

*AU2601092590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 26 Jan 90*

[Text] The current situation in Yugoslavia and Serbia, particularly in the wake of the adjournment of the 14th congress, as well as Serbian views, were the main topics in the talks which Aleksandar Prlja, Serbian republican secretary for relations with foreign countries, held with his American partners. He also met [name indistinct], a congressman who has often been the author of resolutions on Kosovo. The congressman said that he is now much better informed about the position of the Albanian nationality and the general policy of the Serbian leadership.

Aleksandar Prlja is currently on an an unofficial visit to the United States.

### Demonstrations Reported in Several Kosovo Cities

*AU2501191390 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] At 1130, approximately 200 youths, mostly students and unemployed people, gathered in various parts of Urosevac shouting the by now well-known slogans. These groups dispersed only following the rapid intervention of the elements of public order. The demonstrators threw stones at the militia and at some vehicles. A joint meeting of all the presidencies of sociopolitical organizations in the commune was concluded a few minutes ago, endorsing the positions of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists [LC] and condemning yesterday's hostile demonstrations in Pristina, as well as today's demonstrations in Ferizaj, which were considered to have been organized from hostile positions and caused a further exacerbation of the situation in Kosovo and beyond.

Approximately 400 citizens of Albanian nationality demonstrated today at about 1500 in Vucitrn to protest the tragic death of Nuredin Nuredini. They also supported the demands of the students and workers at yesterday's demonstrations in Pristina. The demonstrators shouted only one slogan: democracy, democracy.

In Stari Trg, about 250 miners of the Trepca combine gathered today in their restaurant to support the demands presented yesterday by the students in Pristina. Following talks with management and representatives of local authorities, the miners then began to work.

In Pec, Albanian workers of the industrial batteries factory also held a meeting, supporting the demands of the students and workers who demonstrated yesterday in Pristina. They resumed work after talks with the management and activists from the social structures.

According to the Swedish press, a Swedish journalist [name indistinct], was attacked yesterday in Pristina. In a statement made to the newspaper [name indistinct] the journalist said that he and his driver were attacked in the center of Pristina yesterday by demonstrators thinking they were Serbs. However, when they identified themselves as Swedish journalists, the attackers apologized.

### Youths in Urosevac

*LD2501151190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Urosevac, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Approximatley 200 young people demonstrated around noon today in the center of Urosevac. They shouted slogans concerning democracy, then "Tito, Party" and cheered Adem Demaci, who is considered to be the ideologist of Albanian separatism in Kosovo.

After police intervention, the demonstrators dispersed into surrounding streets. In another attempt at gathering, they threw stones at police. Several vehicles in the center of Urosevac were damaged.

The demonstrators have now dispersed, and, at the moment Urosevac is quiet.

### 'Agitations' in Kosovo

*AU2501132290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Pristina—After yesterday's demonstrations, the day has mostly been peaceful in Kosovo, although there have been some new gatherings. Thus, about 50, mainly, young ethnic Albanians have gathered in front of the building of sociopolitical organizations in the center of Urosevac. Work has been interrupted in the Suva Reka Balkan factory and the workers of all three shifts gathered in the workers canteen. There have been some similar agitations in the Gnjilane Textile Combine, too. On the other hand, communities populated by Serbs and Montenegrins have also announced protests.

### Strikes in Collectives

*AU2601121990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic in Serbo-Croatian 1045 GMT 26 Jan 90*

[Text] Pristina, 26 Jan (TANJUG Daily Service)—The general strike in Kosovo collectives to which the workers were called on during demonstrations two days ago, is being partly realized. Work has been stopped in about 10 collectives this morning.

First, 200 miners of the first shift in the Stari Trg mine refused to work and then 100 of them were taken home. There was also a short work stoppage in another Trepca mine—Ajvalija—near Pristina.

Ethnic Albanian workers in the following collectives refused to work: The Djakovica collectives Elektromotori and Model; Urosevac Irons and Tools factory; the Mineks factory; the Decani Crvena Zastava factory; the biggest Suva Reka collective, Balkan; the Metalac-Gosa factory; and some others. There are still no reports on the situation in schools, and organizers of the demonstrations also called on students to boycott their classes.

### Pristina Statement on 24 Jan Demonstration

*LD2601130190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0859 GMT 26 Jan 90*

[Text] Pristina, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—The Pristina security center today announced that during the intervention to break up the demonstrations on 24 January in Pristina, individuals and groups of demonstrators attacked members of the police with stones and other objects and injured six members of the internal affairs organs.

Organized groups of demonstrators stoned transport vehicles and damaged 15 cars, seven of which belonged to the internal affairs organs. Authorized workers from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs detained 116 persons.

Taking advantage of the situation individuals and groups of demonstrators, criminals, thieves, and vandals broke into five shops and attempted to remove the merchandise. On this occasion 15 persons were caught and identified, and criminal charges were brought against them. Civil charges were brought against 121 persons. A number of them were cautioned and released.

The statement indicates that three citizens from Pristina reported breakins and demonstrators entering appartments in a violent manner where they attempted to hide after the police intervention. Eight demonstrators who broke into appartments have so far been caught. Police used rubber truncheons, water jets, and chemicals to break up the demonstrations in order to protect the people and their property and to establish public peace and order.

### Presidency Endorses Constitutional Changes

*LD2601025290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—At its session today the SFRY Presidency, chaired by President Janez Drnovsek, endorsed the final text of the proposal for implementing the changes in the SFRY Constitution.

Unlike the constitutional amendments and changes, the SFRY Presidency's proposal contains a comprehensive approach to the changes in the SFRY Constitution and is the result of a wide-ranging and detailed examination of all the significant issues for the creation of the country's new constitution. The principle commitments which the document offers should create the conditions for making a new constitution which will meet the demands and needs of our time. In the course of endorsing this proposal the SFRY Presidency has on several occasions consulted, and asked for opinions of, the presidencies of the socialist republics and autonomous provinces. Given the fact that there are differing views and attitudes regarding certain issues, the SFRY Presidency has also offered alternatives in its proposal for some issues in order to create the opportunity for further constitutional procedures and constitutional debates.

The text of the SFRY Presidency's proposal for implementing the SFRY Constitution's changes will be passed on to the SFRY Assembly.

### Yugoslav Press on Discontinued LCY Congress

*LD2401133390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1145 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 24 (TANJUG)—"It is to be hoped that precisely this unexpected finale of the congress will best show that Yugoslavia is made of sterner stuff and stronger than both the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and any other political factor and leadership, and that the fate of the society and its reform-oriented course can no longer be linked to the fate of the ruling or the departing political party."

This was stated in a commentary brought by the Yugoslav daily BORBA on Tuesday morning [23 January]. BORBA also noted that the "political leadership has betrayed what little hope there was that something more serious could be done about the League of Communists in the Yugoslav society."

The SLOBODNA DALMACIJA daily, published in Split (Republic of Croatia), stressed that "what was called the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is definitely dead... The party jeopardized its own positions by insisting on a fictitious unity and constant compromises which only prolong its agony."

DELO of Ljubljana (Slovenia) concluded that the old LCY no longer existed, thanks to the League of Communists of Slovenia, but also owing to other reform-oriented parts of the LCY. This does not mean an end of the world, nor an end to Yugoslavia... All that has been shattered is a dream of some party heads, who counted on fictitious unity enforced with the power of democratic centralism."

VJESNIK of Zagreb (Croatia) holds it logical that the Communists of Slovenia walked out of the LCY congress, since they could not agree to "decision-making on fundamental relations in the LCY by outvoting." If they were to consent to outvoting, then the "Yugoslav Communists would join those of their East European comrades who, being deaf to the dictates of the times, perished from the political scene," VJESNIK said.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA points out that "it was not the congress which was defeated but the positions of the Slovenian delegates" who once again "tried to impose the stands of a minority, which have been prevalent in Yugoslavia for 45 years... The party congress will continue, with or without Slovenians, since in question is the transformation and the activities of a modern political party, the LCY, the only truly Yugoslav-oriented party in Yugoslavia," the paper says.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES maintains that Slovenian delegation's leaving the congress reflected

not a conflict between two republics, Slovenia and Serbia, but a conflict between Slovenia and the whole of Yugoslavia.

"The LCY's life belt is floating rather far away from the coast," the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI points out, as "there can be no united, democratic and reformed LCY as long as it is reduced to individual wills and acts of the party oligarchy.

The daily OSLOBODJENJE, published in Sarajevo, the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, says that "it is clear that in such a state and federation, outvoting is now out of the question." The paper maintains that the "minimum required for saving the party will be the consensus on strategical issues."

The daily DNEVNIK, which appears in Novi Sad, the capital of the Province of Vojvodina, warns that the LCY is on the verge of disintegration and that, besides the Slovenians "who are the most responsible" for the discontinuation of the congress, "everyone else is also to blame for the present situation in the LCY, and will find this difficult to correct."

## LCY Commission for Political Reform Meets

### 20 Jan Session

*LD2101144890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 Jan 90*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—The work of the commission to reform the political system, in contrast to the others, did not begin with an introductory report by the person presiding over it. On the proposal of Ivica Racan, who assessed that the draft congress documentary—primarily the ideo-political platform for the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's [LCY] activity changing the political system and the Declaration of the 14th Extraordinary Congress LCY—represents a solid basis for debate, the discussion was opened immediately.

Stanislav Golik, who was the first to take the floor, noted the stormy disintegration of state socialism in the Eastern European countries and stressed that in Yugoslavia there should be no search for a plan of development based on "great truths," since there are no perfected models. He believes that the way out of our country's current difficulties is possible only through more rapid economic development, based on the market and free initiative throughout the Yugoslav area. This, nevertheless, implies pluralism of ownership, an efficient and democratic state, the protection of citizens' right and freedoms, an autonomous administration, and an independent judiciary.

Under such conditions, Golik stressed, reforms of all sociopolitical organizations and the transformations of the League of Communists [LC], which would finally facilitate abandoning the single party monopoly and the full democratization of political relations, are inevitable. The unity of interests in Yugoslavia, Golik said, should be based on the interests of working people and citizens and its nations and nationalities, without the imposition of anyone's criteria of unity with others, but also without the inequality of any subject. The LC ought, he stressed, to develop itself as a movement for self-management, which will not claim eternal truth, something to which it should adapt the content and methods of party work.

Advocating finally that there be no confrontation at the Congress, Golik said that moves should be made toward transforming the LC which would ensure the affirmation of political competition and open up the way for a multiparty system. [passage omitted: Nada Mladina says the LC needs a clear new program orientation. The LC should be free from partial interests and orientated toward a federal, law-governed state]

Assessing that the Declaration should express in a more precise way the kind of socialism and federation we want, Fidanco Stojev directed the discussion to the question of the individual's freedom and rights. Work, politics, and privacy are three areas in which the question of implementing freedoms should be concentrated. It should be said what these freedoms are and who is endangering them and why, Stojev says, adding that the most numerous problems are the implementation of social rights, especially those at work, something which is not given sufficient emphasis in the draft documents.

The causes of the failure to implement human rights and freedoms lie, in his opinion, in the ineffectiveness of state organs and such control by the authorities, something to which the monistic role of the LC has contributed. Arbitrariness and the inefficiency of the unwieldy political system have also "contributed" to this, Stojev said, pointing out that in the future the lack of norms and established rules of behavior would lead subjectivism and arbitrariness into another extreme.

Assessing that the democratic model of socialism will have an impact on relations in the Federation, he proposes that citizens, too, as constituent elements of the Federation "enlist" in the Constitution, something which would contribute to a modern, law-governed state. He also believes that the SFRY should in the future be responsible for the common development of the community and each federal unit. He advocated the constitutional prevention of threats to the SFRY's foundations and to the people's vital interests.

We at this Congress should form the consciousness—both LC members and all well-intentioned people—that we live in a pluralist society and that this must also be articulated politically, Ivan Siber said. We must adopt resolutions from which it is clearly seen that the LC is entering into free political competition with other political parties in the country.

It is true, he stressed, that a multiparty political pluralism opens up the way for nationalism, but it is much easier to settle accounts with it in an open political scene. This is, indeed, under our conditions the only true

defense against the growth of nationalism and totalitarianism, Siber believes. At the same time, he said, I am against a pluralism which will be only a pluralism of socialist parties. This restriction would be the exercise of coercion over real political processes in the country.

Political freedom is being achieved in an unstoppable way, although the LC is hampering the development of multiparty democracy, Ciril Ribicic said. While things are like this, and until the LC becomes the true exponent of development, efforts for the autonomy of individual political organizations in the country will be natural. The LC, Ribicic assessed, has also, in large measure, contributed toward repression in Kosovo and the organization of political trials. The slogan "Europe today" is incompatible with such phenomena not only for Slovenia and for Serbia, but also for all of Yugoslavia.

The peril of unproductive political struggles and conflicts is behind us and ahead of us there obviously lie productive political struggles and conflicts. The standard of legitimacy, Ribicic stressed, can no longer be protest meetings, but free elections only. It should no longer be proved to anyone that this congress is the last opportunity for a fundmental turnabout both in the LC's orientations vis-a-vis party pluralism and also vis-a-vis the country's economic problems.

The speech by Ciril Ribicic met with a reaction from a large number of delegates.

Rajko Popovic turned directly to Ribicic and criticized him for his approach in his speech which leads to divisions—in terms of those who allegedly offer democracy and those "in the south."

"The expression of the people's will" in some of the East European countries cannot be assessed by different standards from the recent events in Vojvodina, Serbia, and Montenegro, Popovic believes. The people in these areas of our country have rejected alienated policy, and the protest meetings which were held were democratically orientated and were the expression of anger and powerlessness at getting rid of wrong policies through the system's institutions, Popovic stressed.

Why is it now, he asked, that some are saying that the protest meetings were regressive and that this was a mob, the street, and destructiveness. No one should interpret the people's demands because they know well what they want, what "real programs" are, and in whom they will trust.

Dusan Pekic also criticized Ribicic "for not waiting for us also to express our opinion and reading out his address and classifying us into allegedly reform-orientated and anti-reform forces." This is offensive and undemocratic of Ribicic; he lectures people on the kind of stand they should adopt toward Kosovo without waiting for comrades from the province to say themselves what they think, Pekic says.

Ribicic's stands when he spoke about the Constitution are also extremely unacceptable. He changes the Constitution how and when it suits him, while we all advocate changing it. Where is the logic and ethics in this?, Pekic asked. [Passage omitted: Balsa Spadijer criticizes Ribicic's assessments about Kosovo]

Miladin Ivanovic from Pec said that Ribicic had advocated democracy here, but according to the Slovene leadership's taste. Their views on democracy, pluralism, and Yugoslavia amount to the proverb "adjudge according to the law but let the field remain mine," Ivanovic added.

We in Kosovo are not against a multiparty system, but there it tends to be transformed into single-nation parties. The proposals from Slovenia, in his words, only put the Albanians at odds with Yugoslavia. Stojan Berber from Sombor said that Ribicic only repeated the familiar stands from Slovenia which were more and more annoying. It was precisely in order to stop the disputes, establish unity, and implement LCY policy that made the Vojvodina LC initiate this extraordinary congress. One top official is opposing this policy even after the platform on Kosovo and all the other party documents and the introduction of the state of emergency. In "other states another, harsher, word is used for such conduct," Berber said.

Svetozar Licina, a delegate from Bosnia-Hercegovina, opposes the practice whereby delegates arrive there equipped with complete instructions from their republics since this perpetuates the existing situation, overflowing with political bickering, disputes, and blackmail, which leads to schisms in the country. He maintains that solutions should not only be searched for in pluralism in order to gain access to Europe—we must ask ourselves to what extent are we literate, we must not renounce our identity and Yugoslavia's historical foundations, which are not a mere sum of republican socialisms and a matter of republican officials' whims.

Stane Bostjancic from Kranj defended Ribicic's address, stressing that these were the stands which were unequivocally supported by the Communists and people of his region. By attacking Ribicic, he stressed, you are, in fact, attacking the policy of the entire Slovene LC, which has its own stands in the defense of which it will persist, even at the expense of turning itself into an independent party. [Passage omitted: The presiding member, Racan, calls on the speakers to refrain from intolerance and insults. Zeljko Cigler would like to know how to stabilize the situation in Kosovo]

Offering his own answer, Cigler stressed that this is by no means feasible with the constitutionally disputable extraordinary measures, classifying people into honest and dishonest ones (Albanians), the deployment of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army and Political Police, and finally with the violence which takes the lives of both citizens and members of the public peace organs.

A complete equality of nations and nationalities is the only basis for building Yugoslavia and a democratic social system, we all strive for, Cigler underlined. The country is disintegrating, he added, and the responsibility for this lies primarily with those who use force and repressive measures in resolving the national question.

I am insulted as a Yugoslav, because I am concerned for Yugoslavia, Dzemalj Nikovic said. Listening to the young man from Sloevnia (Cigler), I asked myself whether it was possible that we Albanians were such cowards that others must defend the truth instead of us. I accept the concern of all Yugoslavs for me as an Albanian, but do not defend me from the Montenegrins, he said.

Replying to Ernest Cukrov, Zivojin Isailovic said that it is ok to conduct academic debates once we have protected our children, and that children all over Yugoslavia should have the same security. He spoke in favor of passing a resolution on Kosovo, noting however that the stand is unacceptable which holds that everything that comes from Slovenia is suitable in civilization's terms while initiatives from other parts of the country are "Balkanic."

In his second address Ciril Ribicic excused himself for the fact that the debate had taken an undesired direction, adding that he also partly bore the responsibility for this, but not all of it. He stressed that he knew the situation in Kosovo well enough to be able to state seriously and with arguments that the policy conducted to date in the province did not yield results and that it was not Slovenes, Croats, or others who pointed this out who were to be blamed.

Ribicic said that those who were advising the Slovenes should not forget that they were not familiar with the conditions in this republic, and he thanked those delegates who had reacted to his address in a fair manner without disqualifying either him or his organization.

In my address I did not mention a single name, a republican LC or any part of Yugoslavia, but I only stressed that in my opinion within the LCY there is a reform-oriented democratic majority and that it ought to create a democratic program which would be more radical than the congress conclusions of some republican LC organizations. I mentioned Slovenia, he made it clear, particularly because I wanted to point out that even the stands of its congress are falling short of the conditions under which we will be working.

I said, Ribicic resumed, that at this congress instead of national divisions we should see who is favors a quicker pace of reforms, so we will be able to compound the democratic majority in Yugoslavia on this basis, something that is completely different from propagating Slovenia's stands, of which I was accused.

It is not true, as Pekic said, that I have classified this congress' delegates into two parts, but I have presented my own view of the criteria determining who advances and who slows down the reformist processes. It is, however, possible, as someone noted, that I put forward my political program too early.

Advocating that the LC keep pace with times rather than adopting changes once it is forced to do so, Ribicic noted that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was accused of revisionism in 1948 when it took a little step toward democratic socialism. In his conclusion he stressed that he did not want to reflect upon the words of those who had said that they did not understand the Slovene language, but knew enough just by the fact that he came from that republic.

Never in Yugoslavia have we been so divided and manipulated, and never as now has brotherhood and unity been at a lower point, Marko Atlagic said. Pointing out that workers' interests can differ but not be opposed, he stressed that the federal, but not the confederal, organization of Yugoslavia is the precondition of democracy. However, the conditions for this have not been created because the LC is waging the struggle for democracy and political pluralism precisely through the struggle for the soul of the nation.

Atlagic assessed that in our country all the preconditions exist for an authoritarian order because the working class, which is not able to meet its basic minimum needs, is seeking above all security, and not market pluralism. Democracy could therefore come about for us only in accordance with the logic of our illogicality, he added. Nationalisms are present from Triglav to Djevdjelija, Atlagic went on, warning that the press' nationalist euphoria, which considers the truth to be only "its" perception of events, ought to be halted.

In some environments, apart from this, efforts are also being made to bring about Yugoslavia's disintegration he said, citing only Slovenia specifically, but adding that such a thing is also happening elsewhere. Referring to different proposals concerning the method of the organization and position of the Yugoslav People's Army emanating from this republic, Atlagic said that the Army has been selected as a target of attack because without it, in the assessment of Slovene separatists, the process of achieving autonomy for Slovenia would be easier.

The public, through MLADINA, KATEDRA, NOVA REVIJA, TELEKS, and Radio Student, is being led to believe that the Yugoslav People's Army is outmoded, conservative, and beyond social control. Putschist intentions are ascribed to it, and it is claimed that it is anti-Slovene, anti-Croatian, and anti-Muslim, in other words it is organized along the lines of Serbian tradition, and that it is an occupier and fascist.

Members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Slovenia (Kucan, Korosec, Muzevic, Setinc), in Atlagic's opinion reacted to some proposals in an overly mild way, describing them as extremism, while they even concealed others. [sentence as received] Concluding that the Slovene LC leadership, until today, has not taken measures to frustrate attacks on the Yugoslav People's

Army, he stressed that responsibility must be borne for this. [passage omitted: Stjepan Brezovac says the program on Kosovo has been inadequately implemented. Momcilo Trajkovic says Slovenia is hampering the implementation of the program on Kosovo. Delegates discuss this further]

If we had had a good, united, and responsible leadership we would not have arrived at this situation, Dusan Pesic stressed. This Congress is obliged to say that we have had an incompetent Central Committee and Presidium, that national bureaucracies are in power, and that discord prevails among republican leaderships. Those who have gone from post to post, and from one comfortable job to another, have expended their credit and must finally withdraw from political life, Pesic said.

Nothing can be concealed from the people, he continued, because they know everything. Poltroons have been elected and leaderships have been assessing only themselves and have led to workers being in a minority everywhere, except in the workplace. Today, too, there is a total of 80 of us here which is really a scandal, Pesic stressed.

He advocated that all those to blame who "moved into other people's villas in Dedinje," and those who generated debts and had unlimited power in their hands be named publicly. At the end Pesic also announced his list "of those to blame for the present situation," which included practically all those in prominent posts in the postwar years—from Kardelj to Djuranovic, Bakaric, Nimani, Hodza, Stambolic, and Dragoslav Markovic and Krunic.

Egeresi Sandor stressed that past mistakes have led to the loss of the LC's reputation in society, and he advocated the soonest possible adoption of a new constitution, in which freedom of association would have its place, without a provision on the leading role of the party. He called on delegates to turn toward the future, and toward a Yugoslavia included in Europe, a stable community, freed from local and national emotions.

Desimir Medjovic was very concrete. It is necessary, in the first instance, to remove from the Constitution all obstacles standing in the path of free political organization. On the basis of this a decision would follow on the formation of two parties—a Communist Party of Yugoslavia (with original communist ideas and organized on the principle of democratic centralism) and a socialist party in accordance with the idea of democratic socialism. In this way, as he put it, there would be avoidance of the situation of compromises which must inevitably be agreed to in the situation of obvious differences which exists in the LCY.

Radmila Andjelkovic stressed that democratic socialism is a great aim and a responsibility which Yugoslav Communists are tackling at this congress. Communists have become aware that the greatest weaknesses of socialist development to date were in the economic sphere and in the field of human rights and freedoms. Nevertheless, it is worth fighting for the ideas of socialism and the LC, for all the criticism has demonstrated that it has understood the basic tendencies and demands of the time. She had just begun to explain this latter thesis using the example of the Serbian LC when, due to the end of the envisaged 5 minutes for participation in the discussion, she was interrupted and ended her speech.

Lojze Ude from Slovenia reacted to the line of argument of Radmila Andjelkovic and he asked her how her advocacy and fine speech on democracy squares with the economic blockade of Slovenia "and with the crude violation of the Yugoslav market's unity and the country's Constitution?"

Speaking in favor of political pluralism, Stojan Berber pointed out that we should neverthless not glorify bourgeois democracy, as is done by some theoreticians and party workers. Power in the West is based on large-scale capital and is not given up easily, state organs are linked with large-scale capital by many networks among friends and relations; civil society nevertheless does not protect all individuals equally... Those who speak most about democracy, Berber went on, are now forming chauvinist parties. We should learn from our past and this is why I accept the formation of only Yugoslav-orientated parties, he added.

Rejecting Desimir Medjovic's proposal about the formation of two parties, Dragan Radinovic said that the delegates came to the congress obliged by their mandate to fight for unity in the LC, not to destroy it. Those who wish to break up the LCY are welcome to leave it so they can let others fight for it, he concluded.

Nationalism is absolutely legitimate since all people's freedoms and rights are universal, which at the same time means they belong to everyone—to nationalists, to counterrevolutionaries, and to unitarists, Rudi Kocijancic stressed. Therefore, the key question is not how to extinguish nationalism but how to live with it. Kocijancic believes that this is to be done through state institutions with the rule of law, rather than by raising fears of nationalism as an alibi for bolshevism.

Nedeljko Sancanin maintains that the draft congress documents should stress the fostering of national cultures and unity as well. Ante Glisic found that the use of the principle of democratic centalism in the LC, which has moved power "upwards," has in practice "numbed" the membership's initiatives. Gilac advocated the reexamination of the party principle on democratic centralism. He favors obtaining unity through concrete programs. He added that political pluralism is a logical continuation of ownership pluralism and that the multiparty system is certainly not an ideal democratic model but is necessary at this stage of society's development.

The initial excessive programs do not stand a chance in Yugoslavia, Gilac maintains, because it is well-known that "the greater the noise" the new parties produce the less real influence they have. Everyone should be allowed

to organize themselves politically and one should trust the intelligence and experience of Yugoslav citizens, he stressed.

The Yugoslav Communist Party changes its garments but not in the least its nature—the nature which bears Bolshevics' genes and a repressive wand for every free thought, Fadil Hadzic said. This refers to those to whom politics is not a matter of conviction but a profession, he added, in his assessment that no political reform is possible with those in the mold of this old mentality. The draft declaration sounds good, he says, but resembles past times and congresses when good documents were passed with optimism, the ones which were never carried out.

By asking—can the declaration and the Communists be trusted—he expressed his doubt that this document might be carried out by the usual people. The question is can we, after 45 years, escape from purgatory in these 3 days. Unless as early as on the 2d day a radical showdown of the Communists with themselves begins, the LCY will not stand any chances, Hadzic assesses.

Today's discussion in the commission for the transformation of the political system was closed by Hadzic's speech. The presiding member, Ivica Racan, noted that today, due to numerous replies, only 16 out of the 120 registered delegates took part in the discussion.

### 21 Jan Session

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["LCY Congress: Commission for the Reform of the Political System"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] [No dateline as received] The first particpant in today's debate, Milan Kucan, supported the declaration, but he also criticized the formulation that work on a new constitution should be begun immediately. This work, in his assessment, should be preceded by a debate on the essence of life together, which should be initiated by the League of Communist of Yugoslavia [LCY].

In this debate attention should be concentrated on resolving the national question and processes in Europe, Kucan believes. In Slovenia the resolution of the national issue is linked by us to democracy, freedom, and citizens rights, Kucan said, and also to the supremacy of the law over politics and to social liberation. These are principles that will prevent a threat to the people, and to a Yugoslavia based on the self-determination of nations.

Kucan does not agree, as he puts it, with the stances expressed at the Belgrade League of Communists [LC] City Committee and with those things expressed at the Congress which the LCY and the Yugoslav People's Army consider to be the basic mechanisms for preserving the country's unity. This thesis, in his assessment, has no prospect, nor do those which lose sight of the citizens' place in the democratic community.

Yugoslavia today, according to Kucan, is not capable of following Europe. But why should we go toward Europe in a convoy, which is the slowest way, he asked. The thesis that Slovenia is a Slovene part of Yugoslavia is only an expression of unitarism, Kucan said. Slovenia is sovereign and any statement opposing this is advocacy of unitarism, Kucan stressed, adding that a reply to the quesiton of how to emerge from the blockade would also make an agreement on a new constitution possible.

Hilmo Hodzic said that the congress must come up with a clear stance on political pluralism. The constitution should regulate this pluralism, but not for parties whose activity would lead to fraticidal war.

Hodzic does not believe the LC will switch to illegal activity and believes that, by linking together the two parties with the most progressive ideas, it should grow into a democratic league of Communists.

Pointing out that the one to blame for our present reality is the LC, because in the country there is not one post that is not filled by a Communist, Zivojin Isailovic proposed the abolition of national pensions, because they are not deserved, and the confiscation of the property of those who have enriched themselves unlawfully, bringing the working class into the greatest poverty.

We must reduce the party and come up with a program and maintain the principle of democratic centralism, Isailovic said.

The Yugoslav peoples cannot implement the reforms while they are in disagreement. This is the fundamental problem which must be overcome, Slobodan Milosevic said, stressing that in such circumstances a disunited LC cannot be at the head of positive changes in the country. At the same time, he continued, the proposal that the LC be transformed into a federation of federations plays into the hands only of etatised leaderships, which want to ensure power in their fiefdoms. Such an LC inevitably also becomes a nationalistic LC, Milosevic stressed.

In Serbia we are, Milosevic continued, for a united LC and for a united Yugoslavia, not only because there are mostly Serbs living in it, but also because many peoples live in Serbia. We no longer have a complex that because we are the greatest in number we should sit in a mouse-hole and listen. Of course, I assure everyone that Serbia will not in any way abuse its numerical size nor endanger anyone in this way.

Stressing that a new Yugoslavia and a new socialism are confronting us, Milosevic pointed out that the LC has in the recent past not succeeded in fully achieving its ideas on society's development and progress, but it has always been—if not three then certainly one big step—ahead of communist parties in other socialist countries.

The whole country has been awaiting this congress for a year now. Communists and the people hope the LC will emerge from the crisis, something which obliges us to

stand once again at the head of progressive and democratic progress, Milosevic said. Slobodan Milosevic again promised equality and unity here, Martina Kolar said in reaction, but I cannot believe this as long as there is an economic blockade of Slovenia by Serbia.

Retorting to Milan Kucan, Borisav Jovic noted that all the country's highest organs have adopted the decision to change the SFRY Constitution. Bearing in mind that the changes in the country's highest legal act are one of the chief conditions for resolving our crisis, it is difficult to understand the proposal that work on this be postponed, he said.

The Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] decided to break off economic relations with Slovenia, Zoran Todorovic says, to respond to the closure of the Slovene border on the occasion of the heralded "protest meeting of truth." As long as the Slovene leadership supports separatist, genocide-orientated, and terrorist activity in Kosovo, the conditions for normal cooperation between the two republics will not be created. Serbia will persist in its equal relationship vis-a-vis other republics, Todorovic said.

Tomislav Sekulic believes the Slovene leadership is still not clear as to what is happening in Kosovo. How else is one to understand its understanding of activities taking place under the slogan of "Kosovo—a Republic, and by hook or by crook." Is any thought given here to what is happening to our families and to what happened in November of last year and February and March of this year. [as received] At that time the lives of people who dealt with security and of people who protected the freedom of the nation, were threatened. We accept that economic cooperation should develop under normal conditions, but to what extent has Slovenia contributed to stimulating Kosovo's economic development, Sekulic asked. The "protest meeting of truth" was not permitted, though separatists are permitted to demonstrate in Ljubljana. During the strike at Stari Trg, telegrams of support and appeals for the replacement of the new provincial leadership arrived from Slovenia, Sekulic said.

Retorting to Jovic, Milan Kucan stressed that he values the SFRY Presidency's work and its activity in changing the Constitution. I did not propose that work on the new constitution be postponed, but proposed that first of all a plan of work be estabished so that the whole job might be successful.

Kucan also disagreed with Todorovic saying that it is quite normal for every individual to be concerned about his family. We, too, on 1 December were concerned about our families and our children, Kucan stressed.

Ivan Siber did not agree that accusations of separatism and hegemonism be made "with big words" against any part of Yugoslavia. He did not agree that advocacy of a different organizatin of the country be assessed as its destruction. A different view of relations in the LC and in the Croatian LC was not worked out either in the "Headquarters of the counterrevolution." Siber advocated a change in the approach to the resolution of the Kosovo problem, something which should be discussed in a calm atmosphere.

In the following retort by Jagos Puric there was a message to Milos Kucan "not to be afraid of us whose fathers and grandfathers are lying in graves throughout Yugoslavia." Puric added that the help being offered by some "is heavier than a beating."

Smiljko Sokol, who is pleased by the fact that Comrade Slobodan Milosevic is also an adherent of democratic socialism "deserved" the whistles from part of the hall, however, he says today no one believes anyone's word. For Sokol it would be more acceptable if Milosevic had taken a clear standpoint for the multiparty system. In this context early elections with three or five "of the same horses" is not convincing. Sokol also believes real socialism is only possible in "a surrealistic way."

Milovan Kostic, from Vojvodina, criticized the constant retorts, asking whether this is a Central Committee session or a congress. Retorts, Kostic believes, achieve nothing and they should no longer be allowed. [passage omitted: Svetozar Krstic says protest meetings do not threaten anyone's sovereignty]

Sandi Cesko retorted to Milosevic's understanding of the "historical no" to Stalin. In his words, this was resistance to a monopoly and to undemocratic relations and democratic centralism among communist parties and socialist countries. Out of this was born the right to have a different path toward socialism, which should also be reaffirmed in our country. He expressed ironic thanks to Milosevic for "his concern for the Slovene and Albanian people" and for "promising they would not be marginalized." He observed the position of one nation in a law-governed state should not depend on the wishes and statements of a pseudo-leader.

Dr Radivoje Marinkovic, replying to Kucan, proposed that steps be taken to adopt a constitution in which the federation's functions and authority would be set out in precise terms. If general agreement on this is not achieved then, if a majority propose it, a Yugoslav referendum should be organized so citizens might once and for all be able to say what kind of federation they want.

Andrej Marinc "from the headquarters for crushing Yugoslavia," as he said of himself in interpreting the speech by Milosevic, believes the latter labelled things in a serious way and expressed many lies and half-truths. Slovenia is not blocking the new constitution, but is pointing out that a new constitution cannot be adopted rapidly with such an approach. The protest meeting in Ljubljana was not permitted because for Slovene citizens "the export of an anti- bureaucratic revolution: is not acceptable. We are concerned about the deterioration of the Kosovo situation and this is why, Marinc concluded, we are requesting that the plan of the Yugoslav resolution of the problems in the province be analyzed again.

According to Bogdan Brkic, it is clearly evident from the Slovene-Serbian dispute that Slovenia was the first to break off relations because it allowed gathering of Albanian separatists, though it banned the protest meeting for the freedom and rights of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. He requested of Smiljko Sokol that he apologize for his statement about the elections in Serbia as being "four horses in a race."

I apologize to everyone who took my figurative description of the race as an insult, Smiljko Sokol said, explaining that in the theory of constitutional law elections with one candidate are picturesquely called "a one-horse race," elections with two candidates "a two-horse race," etc.

Pointing out why the advocacy of the Slovene delegates for a law-governed state in his opinion does not hold water, Tahir Hasanovic stressed that things should be called by their true names. This means that those who consider that with the application of the extraordinary measures in Kosovo one nationality has been placed in a concentration camp ought indeed to state clearly that they are against the means of a law-governed state prescribed by the SFRY Presidency.

How is it possible that the police protect those who at a protest meeting in Ljubljana shout "Kosovo—a republic," while on the same day, under this slogan, shots are fired in Pristina at members of the public order? Finally, the implementation of the slogan "Europe today" implies the free flow of people, goods, and ideas, which means the arrival of Serbs and Montenegrins in the Slovene capital cannot be banned. It is a matter, Hasanovic concluded, of a two-faced policy, which cannot be believed.

Mira Stankovic was quite clear; after having said that in Yugoslavia there are other nations and republics apart from Slovenia and Serbia that deserve to be heard, she proposed that it be written into the congress declaration that the LC advocate the full national equality of those who declare themselves to be Yugoslavs.

She recalled that in the country, according to the last population census, they are about five percent of the population and, despite their factual existence, they are neither legally nor politically recognized, although it is precisely they who could be a factor in the country's cohesion. [passage omitted: Call to leave retorts to the end of the discussion]

Raif Dizdarevic spoke in a similar tone, referring to the fact that since 1948 we have not been in a more complex situation. Pointing out that answers should be given to crucial questions of how and where to move forward, he stressed that an open, tolerant, and comradely discussion has never been more necessary.

It is not a matter of us or of the LC, but of Yugoslavia, Dizdarevic stressed. Relations in it have nevertheless for a very long time now been burdened by the conflict between Slovenia and Serbia, which is only partially of a conceptual nature.

Pointing out that this confrontation is also taking on characteristics of an interethnic conflict, he requested that the leader of the two republics open a dialogue, without any kind of conditions being laid down. To this end I cannot agree with what Zoran Todorovic said, Dizdarevic concluded. [passage omitted: Zdravko Kostadinovic calls for the introduction of a chamber of producers. Bureaucracy is the main enemy. Tripce Trajkovski criticizes Ribicic: the economic reform is the only way forward. Delegate calls for rejection of Pancevski's address. Svetomir Skaric says multiparty system is essential. Kemal Aleckovic calls for introduction of free political association in the constitution]

According to Minir Dusi, fear and trepdiation are being introduced into the ideopolitical differentiation that is under way in Kosovo and persecution and purges are being implemented for every word. At Pristina University 139 ideopolitical measures have been pronounced, and 44 people have been expelled from the LC and will have to give up tuition, something that in every democratic society is a violation of human rights. The wave of differentiation is spreading from university and educational personnel to enterprises, 40 of which are currently without directors. Signatories to the "Appeal of the 215" have been expelled from the LC, and they have been prevented from having access to managerial jobs, something which, Dusi said, is a great loss for Kosovo and the LC. He noted that "a (?pseudo-scientific) struggle is being conducted against Albanian nationalism," the names of streets and villages are being changed, and requests are being made for the restoration of the name "Kosmet," which has never been widely used among either Albanians or Serbs. The public expression of these demands at meetings of Serbs and Monetenegrins is destroying our life together and causing disquiet among the Albanian masses. At the end Dusi warned that a struggle is being waged in Kosovo only against Albanian nationalism, while Serbian nationalism is being passed over in silence, referred to in mild tones or justified.

Milan Cusic opened the question of changes to the political system in which there should be no destruction of the concept and system of all-people's defense. There is no successful defense without the federation's authentic sovereignty. In the framework of ownership capital and strengthening the market, it must be ensured that branches in the interst of defense not be suppressed. Cusic also raised the question of how to ensure the defense system's unity under conditions of different parties in power. [passage omitted: Milan Pinter, Miladin Ivanivic, Boris Tepsic, Minir Dusi, and Vasilije Boskovic continue the arguments concerning differentiation in Kosovo, the FEC's economic reforms, sovereignty, and nationalism]

Petar Gosev observed that in an atmosphere of "emotional tension and too much attention to detail" imposed

in this discussion, it is difficult to talk about the fundamental topical changes in the political system. He then stressed that socialist society, which is being aspired to, cannot be built on the old type of institutional forms. There is no point, he said, in thinking up some kind of special production relation that does not start from commodity production and the market, which again inevitably leads to the law-governed state, the protection of human rights, and the right to a multiparty organization. [TANJUG takes 13, 14 not received]

Speaking about the situation in Kosovo, Branko Kostic stressed that some of the Slovene leaders' stands on this subject gave rise to endless discussions. Much of it boils down to talking about democracy. However, we should not forget that only a year ago this republic supported those who used force against the Montenegrin people, said Kostic.

I am convinced that before preparing amendments to the federal Constitution we should reach agreement on a platform for association of interests of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities, stressed Joza Nikolic. We must devote our attention, she said, to the realization of joint goals and put an end to quarrels.

Identifying the intentions of Serbs and Montenegrins who wanted to go to the meeting in Ljubljana with the intentions of Vuk Draskovic and his followers is not permissible, said Dusan Jelic. Dragoslav Markovic shared the same opinion, asking for apologies from those who made such comparisons. [passage omitted: Delegates quoted on Slovenia and Kosovo]

Jovan Mirovic from Bar asked Ude and Slovene delegates to apologize because in Ude's statement the Serb and Montenegrin peoples had been identified with Vuk Draskuvic. The delegates from Slovenia appear to be waiting for somebody in Serbia to say something in order to jump up and reply, he observed.

I am disappointed with the aggressive behavior of "civilized" delegates from Slovenia said Dusanka Bogunovic from Bosnia-Hercegovina. She said that if everything demanded by Slovenia were to be adopted—a new name, new symbols and a new program—the LCY would become an entirely different party.

In his "response to all the republics," as he himself put it, Dusan Pekic warned that the discussion is moving along the wrong route. If actual commitment and documents were to be analyzed one could see that we agree on about 95 percent of the issues, and solutions could easily be found for the remaining five percent. [passage omitted: Several delegates quoted on the bureaucrats' role in fanning national disputes and the value of the meetings]

After these discussion statements the chairman tried to channel the discussion to the congress documents. Delegates Aida Maric and Simeon Buncic tried to do the same, pleading for a dignified discussion that would take account of the "audience of millions."

After that intervention Emilija Burner-Bala made a specific proposal that the declaration should emphasize the elements of the LC as a political organization of communist orientation that works for better life and for human and democratic relations in our society. In addition, the federation's status and role and its sovereignty have to be outlined more accurately because the federation is not just the sum of its parts. [tanjug takes 18 and 19 not received]

During the afternoon session the members of the commission for the political system by and large submitted their amendments to the declaration of the 14th extraordinary congress, one of the key documents of this top communist meeting, without, however, providing any extensive explanations.

Enver Djerdjeku believes that this document should not reduce the provinces' rights, and such stands do exist. He stressed that the equality of the republics and provinces and the nations and nationalities represent the basis of our system. Provinces are not artificial, but are historic products and facts, the value of which cannot be reduced.

Novica Stanic spoke of the LCY's rehabilitation as a function of the party's democratization. The stands on rehabilitation contained in the declaration are not adequate because there can be no higher class objective than the man or the person, and no party can be an expression of all members of society. As a specific case he mentioned the question of Djilas' rehabilitation.

Anton Tus submitted a specific amendment suggesting a separate paragraph be included in the declaration on the defense concept.

Evgenco Gligorov stressed that the LC failed to live up to its historic task, especially because it has become too bureaucratized. It has been shown that red bureaucracy is the biggest enemy of socialism.

By reference to the statute Gligorov demonstrated to what extent the party has become bureaucratized. Starting with one booklet, which every member was able to learn by heart, we ended up with a statute which is as "thick" as a book. This is why we workers are running away from the party and this is why we will write a new statute (and you write your own) and then let the membership decide which is better. [passage omitted: procedural issues]

Marko Kaplja demanded that in the declaration the LCY clearly commit itself to abolishing verbal offense, to releasing all political prisoners, and to ending all political trials in the country. The LCY must do this before it ultimately steps down from the platform of authority, Kaplja added.

Among a host of amendments to the proposed conference documents—a total of about 40 were submitted just today—Dejan Popovic's proposal that the Federation should have at its disposal all the instruments to pursue

a macroconmic policy stands out. The same is true of Emilija Grujic's proposal that a special commission made up of pacifists and scholars—without politicians—should examine the situation in Kosovo and submit a report on it. She believes that LC organization in work collectives should be abandoned and that instead the Communists should become organized along professional lines. [passage omitted: Several speakers quoted on various topics]

After the discussion dealing purely with the amendments ended, Slobodan Vucetic, taking part in the debate, said that by and large there is agreement in Yugoslavia insofar as the commitment to the market and the adoption of the country's new constitution are concerned, but that the question of the state character of the community is still open.

There can be no federation, stressed Vucetic, if at the state level we have confederalism, while in the economy we build a single market, because the federation is not a contractual category; it has its full sovereignty. The federal state does not restrict the republics' sovereignty because through the federal Constitution they pass a portion of the sovereignty to the federation and fulfill it through the federal organs.

Therefore, there is no dispute that the key questions have to be decided by consensus in the chamber of republics and provinces, Vucetic went on to say. Endeavors to bring about confederation are legitimate but then it must be stated clearly that that is what we are talking about, instead of flirting with secession and speaking of republican sovereignty in absolute values because these things are far too serious to be decided by leaders alone, especially since these categories are far too often used for electoral purposes.

Vucetic then proposed that a preconstitutional consultative referendum be held in Yugoslavia to establish what specifically the situation is and prepare future constitutional solutions on that basis.

One must be aware, he said, reiterating that the demands for confederation are legitimate, that such a state presupposes a different system of economic and political relations and mentioned, quite specifically, protective custom dues and other measures, as well as special constitutional guarantees to protect minorities' rights.

In conclusion, Vucetic said that self-management, even as a collective relationship, should not be thrown out of the declaration and we should boldly opt for democratic political pluralism.

Having noted that the good preparations for the congress by the delegates have not prevailed owing to the victory of technology imposed by the party apparatus and leadership, Provoslav Ralic stressed that the delegates should take the congress into their own hands at least at the time of voting. A person from Slovenia, he said, cannot be elected party president if the delegates representing Slovene Communists persist with their concept of the party as a league within a league. [passage omitted: Further views expressed by Ralic. Ivan Tormas quoted on multiparty system]

After stating that national parties have recently been mushrooming and after warning that they could represent a serious threat as a factor of national homogenization in multinational environments, Ivan Tormas proposed that existence of membership in all federal units be a condition for registering parties. [passage omitted: More quotes from Tormas. Two speakers quoted on party mistakes and on the need to eliminate shortcomings]

Borut Pahor said that Europe and the world are entering the 21st century conscious that priority must be given to respect for human rights and that this should also apply to the LC, not only when we have academic discussions on this topic, but in our daily life as well. In this connection Pahor suggested that the LC submit to appropriate organs the demand for general amnesty for political detainees who have not been sentenced for violent crimes, that all political trials in Yugoslavia be stopped, and that the congress establish that Azem Vlasi's trial is a political trial. He urged that the congress clearly ask for the abolition of verbal offense and propose to the SFRY Assembly a special commission to discuss the background of all postwar political trials because the LC played a significant role in them.

Milos Aleksic criticized the Presidium and the LCY Central Committee for submitting the congress declaration as the most significant document to the debate without enabling the members to have a say on it. This is the second time in our history that our society's entire character has been changed without the grassroots and the public having their say on the changes. This is how it was done in 1971, and this unacceptable conduct bred the 1974 Constitution of which we are ashamed today. Such arbitrariness should never have legality, Aleksic stressed. [passage omitted: MIhat Zuibaca believes the declaration provides a new form of unity. Lazo Tesla maintains that the LC ought to recognize the multiparty system as a reality. Ljubomir Popovic says that the congress rostrum cannot be used as a means of dismembering the LC]

Chairing this part of the session, Slobodan Vucetic informed the commission members that the initiative of a group of delegates, announced yesterday, proposing that the LC be transformed into two parties is to be passed to the Commission for the Resolution.

Vucetic read the protest of a group of journalists—reporters from the congress—over the Slovene LC delegates' decision to grant access to their meeting only to representatives of "the chosen few" and not to all the press. [passage omitted: Sinan Hasani says Kosovo must be more integrated into Serbia and Yugoslavia. Dzemail Sarac on Slovenia's important role in Yugoslavia's defense system]

Janez Kocijancic responded to a number of points in Slobodan Milosevic's address this morning. He doubted Milosevic's formulation about "the congress of hope" because "it is not certain that the LCY has reached a turning point." Most responsibility for a possible failure of congress will be borne precisely by those who insisted on convening an extraordinary congress and on such a character. The claim that the concept of "the league of leagues" is in the interest of bureaucratic elites also has another aspect—a unified organization would be in the interest of just one elite. Whether this is a question of bureaucratic elites can only be decided upon through free elections in an open political competition. Kocijancic finds Milosevic's statement that "Serbia will not abuse its advantageous number of people to the detriment of others" to be fair but "promises are not enough." We are demanding protection guaranteed by the system—statutory and constitutional provisions," he said. [passage omitted: Svetozar Skaric replied to Kocijancic by saying that the LCY should get rid of those who prefer their own nation to Yugoslavia. Stojan Berber says that the LCY is blocked by those who advocate a confederation]

The most energetic reply [to Kocijancic] was delivered by Dusan Mitevic who, referring to Milosevic, stated that "deeds defend the man." Mitevic regarded Milosevic's speech as "being very integration-oriented, tolerant, and acceptable for Yugoslavia"—in line with what the Serbian people believe. We said at our party meetings in Serbia that we would compromise but we will not falter regarding the LCY's unity, Mitevic underscored.

A brief "argument" was sparked off by this between Svetozar Skaric and Peter Bekes about the allegation that one republic (Slovenia) has halted constitutional procedures and decisions. Zoran Todorovic supported this series of attacks by stating that "we have had enough of Slovenia's fueling the confrontations between the Serbs and the Albanians, and that this 'psychotherapy' has cost us much." Todorovic, however, said that once the LC is thrown out of the constitution it will melt away like "ice in hot water," and that it is not ready for political competition.

Slavko Sestic stressed that the LC must not let its individual parts attack Yugoslavia. Unfortunately such attacks come most often from Slovenia, both through its insistence on an asymmetrical federation and support for Albanian separatists. The LC, he said, must reprove such and similar conducts in line with the still valid statute. [passage omitted: Sestic criticizes Borut Pahor for his appeal for an end to Vlasi's trial]

Judging by today's debate in this commission the LC has definitively become a political deadman, Ernest Cukrov stressed as he pointed out that this party no longer responds to our society's modern demands. Not even in this critical moment does the LC find shared points around which we might unite and improve the situation. Apart from this, if a party is to be a leading one it must have a generally accepted philosophy of the system, system institutions which are won democratically, and the ability to motivate its membership. Today the LC has none of these, Cukrov stressed.

Dragan Tomic says that the theory that this is a matter of confrontation between Serbia and Slovenia is not true. This is a confrontation between Slovenia and Yugoslavia. Tomic provided three proofs of this view—the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army that are constantly coming from Slovenia, their opposition to unity in the LCY, and their irritation with a strong and united Serbia.

Osman Karabegovic stressed that this is a fateful time. There are already suspicions among the people about the congress' results since there are no new reformist forces established which could guarantee a breakthrough. There are, however, some moves, Karabegovic added, but this is only the beginning of the reformist processes.

He stressed that the present processes in the East European countries cannot be compared with ours. Our system was fruitful for some time after the revolution. We were the first to support self-management. The beginning was good but the bureaucracy halted this process, said Karabegovic, who being an old revolutionary was given an exclusive "bonus" in this commission to speak for more than 5 minutes.

The right-wing extremist forces are using this present difficult situation and are forcing us to renounce our traditions; they are telling us that our development has been miscarried and that we should descend from the stage of history. Various parties and alliances are now being spawned like mushrooms after the rain. They are telling all sorts of things, criticizing everything. Among them there are those who advocate a monarchist and even a fascist system. Pazova [reference to the Serbian National Revival Party] has happened, and here comes Tudjman [reference to the Croatian Democratic Community], too.

This is not to mean that I am opposing pluralism and the efforts to have the LC democratized and to renounce its monopoly and divorce from the state, Karabegovic said. Concluding his lengthy address, Karabegovic voiced his message to the congress delegates: All of us have our birthplace, but we ought never to forget that our shared homeland is Yugoslavia. This is my legacy, Karabegovic said.

Tomislav Sekulic stated that in Kosovo it has not been explained what caused the national homogenization of Albanians in the wake of changes to the republican constitution. The efforts to embrace a greater number of Albanians, particularly those who are trusted by their compatriots, in the current political line have failed. The responsibility for this is to be borne by the cadres in Kosovo in the first place, although this was also assisted by the different attitudes in the country toward the Kosovo problem.

The idea of Yugoslavness must be reasserted and not be opposed to that of national belonging, Ivan Juric stressed as he noted that the idea of brotherhood and unity is being mentioned more and more timidly, even in the Communists' documents, and is becoming a superfluous slogan.

Raif Dizdarevic spoke in favor of "returning to the people and the class" since the Communists have lost this habit and have entrenched themselves into institutions. We lack programs of changes, the only one that changes the situation is Ante Markovic's program. This program is being implemented in some aspects even more quickly than envisaged by our optimistic forecasts (the convertibility of the dinar, for example), and has met with positive reactions among the people, particularly after the first results. People are starting to leave apathy behind them, the frozen potentials are being set in motion, and this, in Dizdarevic's words, creates conditions for deeper changes in society. That is why the Communists must be in the frontline of the struggle for implementing this program. Dizdarevic commented critically on the stand in the declaration on the efforts for Yugoslavia to join the EC and proposed internal and foreign political preconditions for this. He advocated the most wide-ranging cooperation and adjustment to the European trends, adding that the existing contractual framework of relations between the EC and Yugoslavia is not yet fully exploited. [passage omitted: Spasoje Djakovic criticizes the LCY's postwar policy toward Albania]

The LC must strive to achieve the correct functioning of the system's institutions. This refers particularly to the judiciary, Milovan Petrovic said, stressing that it must be absolutely independent since this is the prime precondition for a state with the rule of law.

Jetualah Satuljani described the difficult situation in Kosovo, stressing that the activities of Albanian nationalists are not abating. Material aid from some republics, he stressed, except from the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Republic [SAP] of Vojvodina is of symbolic value, which prevents the Kosovo economy from reaching its planned development programs.

Tomislav Peruncic resolutely condemned the efforts to depoliticize the Yugoslav Peoples' Army. This would amount to depriving the Army of any political subjectivity, something that is not characteristic of any modern state, he said. This is advocated most by the leaders of the newly established associations and parties, but also such ideas can be heard within the communist party, which is not good.

Any serious examination would show that the Yugoslav Peoples' Army has never caused or provoked any crisis in the country. On the contrary, it has considerably contributed to overcoming difficulties. The advocates of the depoliticization of the Yugoslav People's Army ignore this fact, of course, Perunicic stressed. Therefore, he resumed, I do not recommend that the Central Committee disband the LC in the Army before it has conducted broad consultations among the membership throughout the country.

Perunicic insisted that the proposal on disbanding the LC organization in the Yyugoslav People's Army be removed from the congress declaration. [passage omitted: Nikola Markovic appeals for the political rehabilitation of all those whom the LCY attacked in the past for their criticism. Zvonimir Lauc called for the release of all political prisoners]

The Communists must assume a united stance on resolving the Kosovo problem, Termkoli Behdjet said. The Communists in Kosovo are determined to overcome the difficult situation, although there are those who still advocate the status quo, he added. Kosovo does not need artificial programs that are not implemented but material means in order to give people jobs, Behdjet stressed. [passage omitted: Alri Krasnici calls on the congress to pay some attention to the Romanies. Aleksandar Ravnikar advocates that the LC's vanguard role be removed from all legislation]

Milan Daljevic stresses that the declaration should decidedly state that a socialist system is our aim which we will not give up. A resolute "no" should be said to all separatist and nationalist tendencies and to all commitments to secession and creating a confederation. It is necessary to express a clear stand on Yugoslavness and the LC must remain a unififed organization and by no account be "a league of leagues;" neither should one allow splitting the LC into two parties. Special prominence in the declaration should be given to the stand on the uniformity of the country's defense and security, Daljevic stressed.

Stane Brovet maintains that an asymmetrical federation or a confederation would threaten the unity of the armed forces' system.

In his opinion the draft declaration does not solve the question of the federation's sovereignty. Apart from the citizen there is also the nation as the bearer of sovereignty which is not a problem, still, the declaration does not establish right relations between the citizen and the nation. Such relations produce a model whereby sovereignty is exercised within the republic, which means that sovereignty is non-existent in the federation so a state's function cannot be exercised, Brovet said.

Anton Tus spoke in favor of adopting the declaration since it offered a project involving Yugoslavia and socialism and rejects dogmatic views. Supporting the declaration would facilitate united action for emerging from the crisis, whereas by rejecting it the LC would exclude itself from future societal processes, Tus said.

Murataj Ramadan says that Kosovo has for a decade constituted Yugoslavia's gravest problem. Despite a great number of conclusions and discussions we are stating again today that the situation deteriorating.

Therefore it is high time to change the methods of work in Kosovo, to begin a resolute social reform, to establish a state with the rule of law, and to democratize relations. The LC must assume part of the responsibility for the situation in Kosovo and relieve the Albanian nationality of the burden of being "the collective culprit" for all things wrong in the province. [passage omitted: Ljuan Koka maintains that any new party in Kosovo should include members of all the nations and nationalities there. Miladin Ivanovic proposes that the emigres from Albania be settled all over Yugoslavia. Speakers discuss women in Kosovo, resolution on Kosovo and its shortcomings, and need for LCY unity. Sead Hodzic advocates the creation of a law-governed state. Vasilije Boskovic denounces quarreling sides. Djordje Drakulic sees the lack of unity in the LC as the cause behind many other divisions and differences. Slavoljub Milovanovic calls for a united, federal democratic Yugoslavia, new constitution, political pluralism]

Peter Bekes sees the congress as the last opportunity for reaching an agreement. The LC has become synonymous with repression and lack of success in development. It is facing a historic test. The issue at stake is whether the LC will have the capability to contribute to the process of civilization or whether by remaining monolithic it will inevitably become an anachronism, he said. Bekes spoke in favor of the declaration, party pluralism, human rights and freedoms, and the law-governed state and went on to describe the trial of Azem Vlasi as unjust and called for Vlasi to be released.

Bekes's speech in favor of Vlasi drew numerous responses which Slobodan Vucetic, who presided over the commission, summed up by saying that any decision about Vlasi's guilt came within the court's competence in which politics should not interfere.

Berica Tepavcevic Aleksic intervened by asking Bekes if he knew who was under threat in Kosovo and under what conditions Serbs and Montenegrins lived. Bekes explained that his support for Vlasi was of a principled nature and that he was aware of the sufferings of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. Dusan Pekic reacted by asking Bekes if he had supported Jovan Opacic in the same way. [passage omitted: Slobodan Jovanovic approves of the declaration]

A total of 156 delegates spoke in this commission's debate which ended its work at 0130. About 30 written contributions were also submitted.

## Chief of Staff on 'Army's Constitutional Duty'

*AU2401081990 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 90 p 3*

[Report on speech by Blagoje Adzic, chief of the Yugoslav People's Army general staff, at the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia congress in Belgrade on 21 January]

[Text] The concept of all people's defense, which was formulated during the people's liberation war under Tito's leadership, Blagoje Adzic stressed, has passed its first test. This concept has passed its test just because Comrade Tito incorporated in it a soul, the soul of the brotherhood and unity of Yugoslav peoples. Without such a soul, Adzic said, there would have not been the people's liberation war, the revolution, and today's Yugoslavia.

The concept of all people's defense is open to improvement and we have been improving and theoretically shaping it throughout the entire postwar period.

This concept has enabled this country and its people to develop in peace for 50 years for the first time in their history. It has managed to achieve this, not through wars, not through confrontations, but on the contrary, through its strength and firmness, because very few dared attack this country.

Adzic then recalled the years 1953 and 1948.

We still need this concept. Unfortunately, Adzic stressed, there are some forces in our society which attack it, which want to revise it, which want to replace it with some kind of republican armies, some kind of partisan method of opposition, or paramilitary forces. Some individuals have prematurely drawn the conclusion that this country is not under threat and that we can freely spread our tails in the Balkans and in Europe without taking into account the fact that what today appears to be normal could tomorrow make a sudden turn and change the whole situation.

The SFRY Armed Forces, especially the Yugoslav People's Army, are ready to carry out all their constitutional duties and tasks to preserve this Yugoslavia, united as it is. We do not think that we are the only ones who favor a united Yugoslavia. The workers class is with us, the working masses from all over the country, the working masses of all of our peoples and nationalities are with us. If anybody intends to react to this, and such attempts have already been made on the Army, it will not be me that responds, but the working people and the workers class, Blagoje Adzic concluded.

## Slovene Social Democrat on Separatist Tendencies

*AU2101214190 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 20 Jan 90 p 6*

[Interview with Katja Boh, vice president of the Slovene Social Democratic Party, by Carl Gustav Stroehm; date and place not given: "Yugoslavia Will Disintegrate Into Separate States"]

[Text] [DIE WELT] Mrs. Boh, are you and your friends proponents of socialism, and if you are, what type of socialism?

[Boh] We say very clearly in our party program that we reject any type of socialism. We do not accept a humanitarian or human socialism, nor do we accept a "socialism to the measure of man," as the Slovene Communists have formulated it. We continue the tradition of European enlightenment. We fight for human rights and the liberalization of the economy. However, we also want to give particular attention to the social problems in Slovenia.

[DIE WELT] How do you view the relations between Slovenia and Serbia?

[Boh] We are optimistic in regard to Slovenia. There are problems, but we hope that we will have truly free elections in April. Then the democratic opposition will have a good chance to get into government.

Regarding our relationship with Serbia, there is no way back. I do not think that reconciliation on the basis of the existing premises—meaning a federation with a central authority—is possible. The only possibility of preserving Yugoslavia is a confederation of several sovereign republics. These sovereign republics would then have to negotiate among themselves what common interests we had, and in what way they should be implemented.

[DIE WELT] Will there be an independent Slovenia in the foreseeable future?

[Boh] I am increasingly convinced that it is bound to come. A confederation of Slovenia with the other Yugoslav republics probably would also only be an interim solution. Yugoslavia will ultimately disintegrate into several separate states. At a meeting in Ljubljana on the possibilities of an independent Slovenia, our economic experts said clearly that it would be possible. Temporary difficulties could be overcome within a short time.

[DIE WELT] Slovenia's President, the Communist Janez Stanovnik, said the other day that Slovenia's mission was not separatism, but the implementation of democracy in all of Yugoslavia. What do you think?

[Boh] We Slovenes were the first to start a democratization process in Yugoslavia and to show the other republics and people the way. If we had not begun democracy, developments in Croatia would not have reached their current level.

Development in the other republics is slower; however, they are clearly heading in the same direction. I would like to stress one thing in particular: We are perfectly aware of our responsibility for stabilization.

[DIE WELT] Some people believe that the best guarantee for stability in the southeast is the existence of a united Yugoslavia.

[Boh] I am astonished to hear that some people still think so. We have seen for decades that you cannot make the people accept unity or even fraternity by using terror, force, or suppression. We want to have sovereignty just like the other European nations. It is only as sovereign partners that we can then sit down at a Yugoslav "roundtable" to discuss what we still have in common.

[DIE WELT] What common interests do you and the Serbs have, do you think?

[Boh] Very few. At best in the economy. We could very well coexist with all our differences, if every nation were politically and above all economically independent.